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BOUNDING THE ORIGINAL UNITED STATES.

In the middle of the last century—say at the outbreaking of the French and Indian war in America and of the Seven Years war in Europe—North America, excluding the northern half of the Pacific slope, about which next to nothing was known, was divided among three great European nations, as follows: France held the north—the British America of our maps, save an undefined region in the Hudson Bay country and the peninsula of Acadia or Nova Scotia; France also held the Mississippi valley and its outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, together with a certain extent of coast reaching both east and west from the mouth of the river. England held Hudson Bay, Acadia, which had been ceded to her by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and her old thirteen colonies. Although England had originally claimed all the lands back of her ocean front, and had run the charter lines bounding her colonies through the continent “from sea to sea,” she was now willing to see the “south sea” in the Mississippi river, and did not for the time urge any right or claim to the trans-Mississippi half of the great valley; but she stoutly denied the right of France and stoutly asserted her own right to the cis-Mississippi or eastern half. Hence both France and England claimed the vast territory west of the Alleghanies draining westward and northward to the great river and the northern lakes; and this conflict was the principal cause of that final struggle of the two powers which led to the exclusion of France from the continent. For the time, France was in actual possession; and she rested

her claim on her fortified posts on Lake Champlain, at Niagara and Detroit, among the Miamis and in the Illinois, and on the lower Mississippi. France held both the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and so controlled the two great waterways leading to the heart of the continent, while the English were practically shut up to the Atlantic slope between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Mary's river. Spain held Florida from the Atlantic west along the Gulf of Mexico to Louisiana; also the vast regions beyond that province, northwestward and westward, southwestward and southward, to the Pacific ocean and the isthmus. France called her possessions collectively "New France," Spain hers "New Spain," but England reserved "New England" for a diminutive part of hers, small as the whole was in comparison with the territories of her two rivals. As a matter of course, man had made no surveys and marked no boundaries. Such, in general, was the political map of North America when the French and Indian war began.*

The year 1763 saw the greatest changes ever made in the map of North America at any one time. France ceded to England all her possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi, except only the city and island of New Orleans; also all her possessions north of the lakes and the St. Lawrence. Spain ceded to England Florida. France ceded to Spain the city and island of New Orleans, and the whole province of Louisiana stretching from the gulf northward to the regions of Canada, and from the Mississippi westward to the farthest springs of its longest tributaries. From the standpoint of geography, the total result was that Spain and England now divided the continent between them; from the standpoint of civilization, the total result, already seen to be vast beyond compare, is not yet fully apparent. And these gigantic results were mainly due to the genius of two men—Pitt the statesman and Wolfe the

* It is very difficult even roughly to apportion North America at the time mentioned above among the three powers—"claims" were so vast, so vague, so undefined, and so little was known by the claimants of the geography of the continent. Thus the claims of France conflicted with those of Spain, both to the east and west of the mouth of the Mississippi. To give a comprehensive description of the claims of France and England is much more difficult. Frequent reference to the disputes will be found in Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe.' (See index under "boundaries.") For the country west of the Alleghanies "various principles of demarcation were suggested, of which the most prominent on the French side was a geographical one. All countries watered by streams falling into the St. Lawrence, the great lakes, and the Mississippi, were to belong to her. This would have planted her in the heart of New York and along the crests of the Alleghanies, etc." The English insisted that all countries conquered by the Iroquois belonged to the British crown. "This would give them not only the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, but also that between Lake Huron and the Ottawa."—*I*, 124-125.

soldier. Says Mr. J. R. Green: "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States."* Says Mr. John Fiske: "The triumph of Wolfe marks the greatest turning-point as yet discernible in modern history."†

Before the treaty of Paris had sealed Wolfe's victory—even before the war began—it was discerned by the far-seeing, that England conquered for another and not for herself. Some Englishmen objected to the acquisition of Canada, urging (among other arguments) "that the British colonists, if no longer held in check by France, would spread themselves over the continent, learn to supply their own wants, grow independent and become dangerous. Nor were these views confined to Englishmen. There were foreign observers who clearly saw that the adhesion of her colonies to Great Britain would be jeopardized by the extinction of French power in America. Choiseul warned Stanley that they "would not fail to shake off their dependence the moment Canada should be ceded;" while thirteen years before, the Swedish traveler Kalm declared that the presence of the French in America gave the best assurance to Great Britain that its own colonies would remain in due subjection."‡ Twenty years sufficed to vindicate these prophecies. The second treaty of Paris, made in 1783, was as humiliating to England as the first one was glorious. And that because the king was now compelled to acknowledge the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent states, and to relinquish all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial right of the same, and of every part thereof. Fortunately for both England and America, the war had been confined to the thirteen colonies; no arguments and no military movements had sufficed to persuade the Frenchmen of the north or the Spaniards of the south to come into the revolutionary movement.

Article 2 of the treaty of Paris reads thus:

ART. 2. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries, namely: From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraqui (that is, the St. Lawrence); thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into

*"History of the English People," Vol. IV., 193. N. Y., 1880.

†"American Political Ideas," 56. Boston, 1884.

‡See Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," II., 403-404.

Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the isles Royal and Philipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Appalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia."

Within these lines lay the original United States, bounded by England on the north, by Spain on the south and west, by the ocean on the east—the only neighbor that never gave any trouble.

In the light of history, the phrase in regard to the prevention of boundary disputes is amusing. Article 2 of the treaty is in plain language, the description flows smooth, but it is doubtful if the same number of words in a treaty ever concealed the seeds of more disputes. To draw boundary lines on paper is one thing; to go upon the ground where they are supposed to fall with instruments to run and mark them, is quite another, as the high contracting parties in this case found to their cost the moment an attempt was made to transfer the treaty lines to the surface of the earth. No doubt the diplomatists at Paris used the language in good faith, but their lines had to be drawn, not only on paper, but through vast wildernesses uninhabited and unexplored, and some of the lines, naturally, were found impracticable. A child looking on a common map of the United States can tell this now, but the greatest geographer did not know it then. In part, however, the disputes that arose had other sources than ignorance of geography, as we shall soon see.

Considering that the southern boundary was so much more remote than the northeastern from the heart of the Union, it may seem strange that whereas sixty years were required to settle the latter, twelve years sufficed for the former. The explanation lies in a number of circumstances,

the principal one of which is the relations of the Mississippi river to the great west.

The treaty of 1763 made a line running along the middle of the Mississippi from its source to the river Iberville, and thence along the middle of the Iberville, and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, the north and south boundary between the American possessions of the king of England and the king of Spain. England immediately divided Florida into two provinces, separated by the Appalachicola river. On the north their boundaries were, at first, the thirty-first parallel of north latitude from the Mississippi to the Appalachicola, thence down this river to its junction with the Flint, thence by a due straight line to the head of the St. Mary's river, and thence by the St. Mary's to the ocean. But the next year, 1764, she carried West Florida one hundred and ten miles farther north, making the northern boundary of that province a due east and west line extending from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Appalachicola. Reverting to the second article of the treaty of 1783, quoted above, the reader will see that the southern boundary of the United States corresponds closely with the northern boundary of the Floridas as England established them in 1763. But by a treaty signed in Paris the same day that the American treaty of 1783 was signed, England ceded the Floridas to Spain, and purposely or otherwise, mentioned no boundaries whatever. An immediate conflict between the United States and Spain was the result. The United States claimed on the east bank of the Mississippi down to the parallel thirty-one; Spain claimed the Floridas with the boundaries that they had when England ceded them. In other words, the block of land lying north of parallel thirty-one and south of an east and west line running through the mouth of the Yazoo, between the Mississippi and the Appalachicola, was in dispute. The United States certainly had a good title, and Spain could say much in defense of hers. Moreover, it must be remembered that, in 1779, Spain had declared war against Great Britain; and that, at a time when the Americans needed a diversion in their favor from any quarter, Galvez, the gallant young Spanish governor of Louisiana, made an attack on the British posts in West Florida, and captured them all—on the Mississippi, in the region of the Lakes and along the Gulf as far as, and including, Pensacola. Accordingly the treaty did not put Spain in possession; she was in possession already. She now began to strengthen herself in West Florida, and particularly in the disputed region, building new forts and reinforcing

old ones. Practically she controlled the river as high up as New Madrid, which was now built, just below the mouth of the Ohio. Furthermore, she made treaties with the Indians residing in the district, they recognizing the Spanish title and agreeing to defend it. For the time, the young republic was no more able to drive the Spanish garrisons from the east side of the Mississippi than she was to drive the British garrisons from the Maumee. So the issue was left to diplomacy and the logic of events. And however it might be with diplomacy, the logic of events worked more and more on the American side.

The treaty of 1763 between England and Spain declared the navigation of the Mississippi wholly free throughout its whole length to both powers, and this declaration included the English colonies. This right meant little then to either power, but by the time the Revolution had begun, settlements were springing up in what the Virginians called "the back country," on the Yadkin, the Holston and the Kentucky. By that time, too, there were several American merchants in New Orleans—men from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—and these, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, with the consent of the Spanish governor, although Spain was then at peace with England, shipped arms and munitions up the Mississippi and Ohio to Pittsburgh.* But by 1779 Spain, always jealous of the Mississippi, was becoming fearful of the States; and in her treaty with France of that year—the very treaty in which she pledged herself to war with Great Britain—she put herself in a position, so far as France was concerned, to compel the renunciation, on the part of the States, not only of the navigation of the Mississippi but also of the basin of the St. Lawrence, of the lake region, and the Mississippi valley.† That Spain's hope of excluding the republic from the valley was most delusive, is proved by military movements at that very time in progress, whereby the British posts on the Wabash and in the Illinois were captured. Still, in 1780–81, the States, in their anxiety to commit Spain more strongly to the war against Great Britain, proposed, though reluctantly, to surrender their claim to the navigation of the river from the thirty-first parallel to the gulf. Here matters rested until 1784.

The articles of 1782 that were preliminary to the treaty of the next year between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, contained a secret article to the effect "that in case Great Britain, at the conclusion of the

* See 'The Creoles of Louisiana,' Geo. W. Cable, 87, 88. New York, 1884.

† See Bancroft, vi, 183. Boston, 1878.

present war, shall recover or be put in possession of West Florida, the line of north boundary between the said province and the United States shall be a line drawn from the mouth of the river Yazoo, where it unites with the Mississippi, due east to the river Appalachicola." As Great Britain did not "recover," and was not "put in possession of" West Florida, this article fell; but its existence soon became known to his Catholic Majesty and gave him mortal offense. Again the treaty of 1783, by an article which was not secret, declared that "the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States." This provision seems strange, to say the least. Great Britain, according to the terms of the two treaties, was no longer to touch the Mississippi at a single point; moreover, from the parallel thirty-one to the gulf the river lay wholly within the Spanish possessions. How, then, since it was a well recognized rule of public law that the owner of the mouth of a river controls it, granting ingress and egress as he sees fit, could the two powers agree to such a stipulation? No answer is apparent, save the fact that Spain had ceded to England the free navigation of the river in 1763; but the inference that England could, in turn, cede it to the young republic, and then the republic could guarantee it to Great Britain, would not be convincing to his Catholic Majesty's mind. Moreover, his Majesty had a clear perception of one thing which an Anglo-Saxon republic stretching down the Atlantic slope from Acadia to Florida, and spreading over the Alleghanies to the upper lakes and to the Mississippi meant, viz: a perpetual menace to his own possessions—to the Floridas, to Louisiana, and to Mexico; and the successive annexations of Louisiana, 1803, Florida, 1819, Texas, 1845, and the two Mexican cessions of 1848 and 1853, show how justly he reasoned. All in all, it was most natural that he should be offended at the American treaty, that he should discover every day a new reason why the States should have been confined to the Atlantic shore, and that he should stoutly maintain his right to the disputed territory lying below the Yazoo. From 1784 onward the Mississippi river was a "burning question" in our politics. No man can do justice to it who does not encompass the social, industrial, and political life of the nascent society now forming in the valleys of the streams flowing into the Mississippi on its eastern side. The life of this society cannot be here portrayed, but a glance at some of its phases is essential to the main purpose.

All through the Revolution, and still more afterwards, population west of the mountains was increasing. Scattered for the most part through the valleys of the Ohio and of the streams falling into it; cut off from the east by the high mountain-wall that had so long been a barrier to emigration; bound to the old states by feeble ties; having no means of reaching the markets of the world with their constantly increasing products but the Mississippi; bold, hardy, adventurous, with plenty of lawless and reckless characters—it is not strange that this population chafed and grew restive under the restraints which the king of Spain imposed upon the great river. As remarked, the national authority was too weak either to expel the Spaniard from the disputed district or to compel, at New Orleans, commercial concessions. This, however, the west could but poorly understand. Again, those states that did not run over the mountains evinced an almost total inability to understand this nascent society, its commercial necessities and the drift of its political tendencies. In fact, large numbers of people in these states looked askance upon the growing west, and cared little or nothing whether it had any outlet to the world or not. The hesitation of congress to admit Kentucky to the Union, and the breakdown of the "State of Franklin" added to the growing irritation. It was a time of upheavals in both worlds; revolution was in the air, and the peculiar conditions of western life invited reckless and even desperate schemers. Minister Genet fomented western hatred of the Spaniard; George Rogers Clark organized a formidable expedition to descend the river, seize and hold its mouth; and Senator Blount of Tennessee was expelled from the United States senate because he tried to induce England to send an army from Canada by Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, to seize Louisiana and the Floridas. Boat-loads of Kentucky products were confiscated and the boats broken up; but generally a trade more or less open, more or less clandestine, was carried on. The times were rife with intrigues, rascality, and corruption. James Wilkinson, who came to Kentucky in 1784, found there a home that gave full scope to his remarkable talents for speculation, intrigue, bribery, and treason. Spanish agents constantly traveled on various errands through the valley of the Ohio. American speculators and informers as constantly visited New Orleans. At one time there seemed a probability that the western people would detach themselves from the States and form a union with the Spaniards, and at another there was a much greater probability that they would secede from the Union,

swallow up the Spaniards in the southwest, and create a Mississippi valley nation. Indian wars in the west and northwest, a discontented and almost rebellious population in the valley, the whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania, England refusing to carry out her treaty stipulations, France fomenting domestic troubles and trying to commit the United States to foreign war, and England and Spain trying to detach the west first from the Confederacy and afterwards from the Union—surely the young republic was sorely vexed. Then it was that the first disunion scheme was broached, antedating Aaron Burr's treason as well as nullification and secession; namely, a scheme to divide the country by a north and south line drawn along the Alleghany mountains. How imminent separation was, at least an attempt at separation, was not appreciated at the time; nor has history yet done full justice to the subject. It is pertinent to remark that, had the New England Federalists, who had small sympathy with the west, had their way, it is highly probable that the west would have been lost; not, indeed, through formal excision, but through failure to strengthen its connections with the Union. Certain it is that the Virginia statesmen of the Republican school, who understood the western problem much better than the New Englanders, perhaps on account of their closer connection with the western people, then rendered the cause of American union and nationality an invaluable service.

Almost always the history of the Mississippi question has been written from what may be called a Kentucky standpoint. Great stress has been laid on the unreasonable and arbitrary course taken by the Spaniard, small allowance has been made for his fears, rights, and jealousies. Spain was weak, torpid, almost effete; but the Mississippi controversy touches her, as Mr. McMaster has well stated, on the one point which still remained exquisitely sensitive. "Whoever touched her there touched her to the quick. Her treasury might be empty, her finances might be in frightful disorder, her army a rabble, her ships lie rotting at the docks. A horde of pirates might exact from her a yearly tribute, competition might drive her merchants from the sea, and she might in European politics exert far less influence than the single city of Amsterdam, or the little state of Denmark. All this could be borne. But the slightest encroachment on her American domains had more than once proved sufficient to rouse her from her lethargy and to strengthen her feeble nerves."* Hence the alarm with which she viewed the growth of the

* *History of the People of the United States.* I, 372, N. Y., 1883.

western settlements; hence her attempt in 1779 to confine the States to the Atlantic shore; hence her determination to hold the territory between the mouth of the Yazoo and the thirty-first parallel; and hence the feeble-forcible policy that she pursued to the very east in reference to the Mississippi, sometimes threatening and sometimes wheedling her terrible neighbors to the north. It must be remembered, too, that all the time the people of New Orleans were French, that the Spanish governor ruled over foreigners. Mr. Geo. W. Cable has told the story from the standpoint of New Orleans: How "the Spanish occupation never became more than a conquest;" how, in 1793, when Spain and France were at war, the governor "found he was only holding a town of the enemy;" how the Creole sang in the theatre "*The Marseillaise*;" how the city was fortified against its own inhabitants, as well as an outside foe; how, again, "the enemy looked for from without was the pioneers of Kentucky and Georgia;" how "Spain intrigued, congress menaced, and oppressions, concessions, deceptions and corruptions lengthened out the years;" how there came to the governor "commissioners from the state of Georgia demanding liberty to extend her boundary to the Mississippi, as granted in the treaty of Paris;" how "Orleans," as the westerners called it, was "to Spain the key to her possessions," "to the west the only possible breathing-hole of its commerce;" how, by 1786, "the flatboat fleets that came floating out of the Ohio and Cumberland, seeking on the lower Mississippi a market and port for their hay and bacon and flour and corn, began to be challenged from the banks, halted, seized, and confiscated;" how "the exasperated Kentuckians openly threatened and even planned to descend in flatboats full of long rifles instead of bread stuffs, and make an end of controversy by the capture of New Orleans;" how the security of the city was thought essential to the security of all Louisiana, the Floridas and even Mexico; and how the authorities on the ground sometimes received the pioneers who swarmed down to their border, not as invaders but as emigrants, yielding allegiance to Spain, and sometimes did their utmost to foment a revolt against congress and the secession of the west,"—all this, and much more, has Mr. Cable told in his own admirable manner.*

The foregoing is in no sense an articulated history of the Mississippi question from the close of the war to the yielding up by Spain of Louisiana; it is but an imperfect sketch, written to make the larger relations

*See '*The Creoles of Louisiana*,' XVI, XVII.

of the several parties to the controversy intelligible. But three or four points should be brought out with due distinctness.

Sometimes the port of New Orleans was open, sometimes closed; and sometimes, as Mr. Cable says, "neither closed nor open," by which he means that it was legally closed but practically open, at least to preferred traders who were in collusion with the Spanish authorities. In 1785-86 Mr. Jay, secretary of state for foreign affairs, conducted a long and tedious negotiation with Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, touching the issues between the two countries. But the negotiation came to nothing beyond alarming and angering the west, since Mr. Jay, as well as several states voting in congress, had declared a willingness, for the sake of peace and amity, to yield the claim to the free use of the Mississippi for a term of years. In 1793, when the Creole was singing "The Marseillaise," Spain conceded to the United States open commerce with her colonies, and then, as soon as the song ceased, she withdrew the concession. Governor Carondelet wrote: "Since my taking possession of the government, this province has not ceased to be threatened by the ambitious designs of the Americans." Evidently fear of the gaunt Kentuckian was again in the ascendant. But finally, after no end of diplomacy, the two powers concluded at Madrid, in October, 1795, a treaty intended to compose all their difficulties.

Article 2 of this treaty confirmed the boundary given to the United States by England in 1783; that is, his Catholic Majesty yielded his claim to the disputed territory lying below the mouth of the Yazoo. The same article provided for the withdrawal of any troops, garrisons, or settlements that either party might have within the territory of the other party, said withdrawal to be made within six months after the ratification of the treaty, and sooner if possible. Article 3 made provision for a commission to survey and mark the boundary from the Mississippi to the sea. Article 4 declared the middle of the channel of the Mississippi the western boundary of the States, from their northern boundary to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude. Article 4 also declared: "And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river, in its whole breadth from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention." Article 22 permitted the citizens of the United States, for three years, to deposit their merchandise in the port of New Orleans, and

reship the same without other duty or charge than a fair price for storage, and declared that his Catholic Majesty would either extend this right of deposit beyond the three years or would assign the Americans some other place of deposit on the bank of the river.

Perhaps the United States fondly expected that the treaty of Madrid would end all troubles. Far from it. The concessions that it contained were extorted from Spain by fears growing out of the state of continental affairs, and there is only too much reason to think that she regarded them only as diplomatic maneuvers, to serve a temporary purpose. Certain it is that Spanish procrastination and intrigue delayed carrying into effect the promise in regard to withdrawing troops and garrisons; and it was not until March, 1798, that the Spanish governor stealthily abandoned rather than formally surrendered the territory between parallel thirty-one and the mouth of the Yazoo. Then on the expiration of the three years, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans denied the longer right of deposit at that port, and failed to designate, as the treaty of Madrid provided, an "equivalent establishment." This act set the west all in a ferment again, and war between the two nations seemed imminent. Alarmed at the prospect of war, Spain reopened the port, but only to close it again in 1802, just as Louisiana was slipping from the hand of his Catholic Majesty into the hand of First Consul Bonaparte. The Spanish concessions of 1795, answered for the time; but the full control of the river, secured by the Louisiana purchase of 1803, which put an end to the "Mississippi question" until revived in a new form by the southern rebellion, came none too soon for the good of the west and the peace of the Union.

But it is time to go to the north. I do not propose to write a detailed history of the settlement of the long boundary extending from the Bay of Fundy to the Lake of the Woods—a history quite as long and almost as devious as the boundary itself,—but shall point out the major difficulties involved, and the means by which they were overcome. Confining himself to what is called the "Northeastern Boundary," Daniel Webster, defending in the senate, in 1846, the treaty of Washington, particularized five embarrassing questions that had arisen and been matters of controversy for more than half a century preceding 1842.*

1. "Which of the several rivers running into the Bay of Fundy is the St. Croix mentioned in the treaty?" Three different rivers at different

* See "Webster's Works" V, 82, 83.

times were called the St. Croix, and not unnaturally England claimed the one farthest west, and the United States the one farthest east.

2. "Where is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia to be found?" This "angle" or corner was supposed to be formed by the junction of a due north line from the head of the St. Croix to the highlands; but as both the river and the highlands were disputed, there was no agreement as to the angle.

3. "What and where are the highlands along which the line is to run from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river?" Ascending the St. Johns river we find it doubling the St. Croix and the Penobscot, thereby giving rise to two systems of highlands, one south of the St. Johns and between it and the St. Croix and Penobscot, and one north between the St. Johns and the rivers of Canada. Which of the two lines of highlands is the one mentioned?

4. "Of the several streams which, flowing together, make up the Connecticut river, which is that stream which ought to be regarded as its northwesternmost head?" Two streams contended for the honor; the British held for the main branch, the Americans for one farther west called "Hall's stream."

5. "Are the rivers which discharge their waters into the Bay of Fundy, rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean in the sense of the terms of the treaty?" The pertinency of this question appears when we take it in connection with the third one, in relation to the highlands. The Americans looked for their highlands north of the St. Johns, and so held that that river falls into the ocean in the sense of the treaty; but the British, who found their highlands south of the St. Johns, denied this proposition and held that by the Atlantic ocean the commissioners who framed the treaty meant the sea west of the St. Croix. The British claim on its face would seem absurd; but the American also carries with it the conclusion that the Ristigouche, which flows off easterly into the Bay of Chaleurs, also falls into the Atlantic ocean, which might seem far-fetched.

A careful study of a good map of Maine, New Brunswick, and Lower Canada will reveal the pertinency of all these questions; it will also show how the second, third, and fifth questions hold together, and how an answer to any one of them carries with it the answer to each of the others. Mr. Webster's argument to Lord Ashburton that certainty must rule doubt, and that, accordingly, the north line must proceed to highlands from which streams flow to the St. Lawrence, and that streams like the

St. Johns and the Ristigouche, which make their way to the sea by the way of bays and gulfs must be held as "falling into the Atlantic ocean," seems conclusive; but the king of Holland pronounced this opinion as to the Ristigouche "hazardous," and Lord Ashburton said it was "most absurd." So there were on the northeastern boundary alone strings enough to keep diplomatists tying and untying for a hundred years, had not the backwoodsman compelled a settlement in little more than half that time. Moreover, answers to Mr. Webster's five questions bring us only to the head of the Connecticut; while beyond that point along each stream and strait, and through each lake, minor difficulties were springing up until the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods was reached, where the attempt to fit the words of the treaty to the facts of geography had to be abandoned at the outset.

The treaty of 1794 between England and the United States, commonly called "Jay's treaty," provided (Article 5) that "whereas doubts had arisen what river was truly intended under the river St. Croix" in the treaty of 1783, the question should be referred to the final decision of three commissioners, one to be named by his Britannic Majesty, one by the President of the United States, and the third to be chosen by these two, or by lot if the two could not agree. This commission decided the quarrel in favor of the Americans; it surveyed the true St. Croix to its source, which it marked with a monument. The report of the commission is dated October 25, 1798. Serious doubts having arisen since 1783, as to the practicability of reaching the Mississippi by a due-west line from the northwesternmost point of Lake of the Woods, Jay's treaty also provided that measures should be taken in concert to survey the upper Mississippi, and that in case the due-west line was found impracticable, the "two powers would thereupon proceed by amicable negotiation to regulate the boundary in that quarter," etc. I have found no trace of such a survey being made, and the boundary was not fixed for more than twenty years hereafter.*

A convention was signed, May 12, 1803, by the representatives of the two powers, which contained arrangements for determining the boundary from the St. Croix monument to the head of the Connecticut, and from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi. But at the same time that Rufus King was negotiating this treaty in London with Lord Hawkesbury, Messrs. Livingston and Monroe were negotiating a much more familiar

*The best maps of the period put down the course of the river above the forty-fifth parallel, as "the Mississippi by conjecture." See McMaster's 'History of the People of the United States,' II. 153.

one in Paris with the ministers of the First Consul. This was the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to the United States, signed April 30, 1803. When the London treaty came before the senate, the argument was made that the Louisiana cession would affect the line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi river; the senate accordingly struck out article 5, which the British government resented, and so the whole treaty fell.*

When the war of 1812 began no progress had been made in fixing the northern boundaries beyond the short one from the mouth to the source of the St. Croix. The treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, contained full arrangements for determining the rest of the line, providing for this purpose three several commissions and dividing the line into four several parts. Commission one should pass on the conflicting claims of the two nations to certain islands in Passamaquoddy and Fundy bays (Article 4); commission two should run and mark the line from the head of the St. Croix to the point where the forty-fifth parallel strikes the St. Lawrence river (Article 5); commission three should run and mark, first, the boundary from the intersection of the parallel just named and the St. Lawrence to the water communication between Lakes Huron and Superior (Article 6), and afterwards the remainder of the line extending to the northwesternmost point of the Lake of the Woods (Article 7). Each commission should consist of two men, one appointed by his Britannic Majesty and one by the President of the United States. If the said commissions should agree in their decision, both parties should consider their decisions as final and conclusive. And in the event of the two commissioners in any case differing, or in the event of either or both of them declining or omitting to act, the two governments agreed to refer the case with the papers to "some friendly state or sovereign, to be then named for the purpose," who should be requested to decide it, they engaging to consider the decision of such friendly state or sovereign as final and conclusive on all the matters so referred. Due pains were taken in each article to state that the commissioners and arbitrators, if any should be appointed, should act in conformity with the treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty. More than one half of the treaty of Ghent was thus occupied with arrangements for settling the boundaries described thirty-one years before. The war of 1812 was not, in any way, to disturb the original boundaries.

On November 24, 1817, the first commission reported its decision

* See Webster's 'Works,' V, 82, 83.

touching the islands in the two bays. On the eighteenth of June, 1822, the third commission reported that it had surveyed and marked, as well with material monuments as on maps, the third section of boundary as divided by the treaty: viz, from the intersection of the forty-fifth parallel to the water communication between Lakes Huron and Superior. The commissioners were unable to agree as to the fourth or Lake Superior section, and it was left to the treaty of Washington, 1842, to establish that part of the line. The second commission explored a part of the section of the boundary covered by Article 5, viz, that from the head of the Croix to the St. Lawrence; and as the British commissioner persisted in finding the highlands south, and the American commissioner north of the St. Johns, they could not agree. In due time this section of the boundary was referred to an arbiter, but before taking up that part of the history we must look again into the northwest.

Our government purchased Louisiana of Bonaparte in 1803, and this purchase defeated the Hawkesbury-King convention of the same year. By this purchase we succeeded to all the rights, as respects Louisiana, that had belonged to Spain or France, and this carried us, west of the Mississippi, north to the British possessions. By a convention dated October 20, 1818, the United States and England settled the Lake of the Woods controversy, and fixed the boundary between them to the Rocky mountains. The treaty itself gives the history in the fewest words:

"It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the Southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony mountains."

Forty years had now passed since the treaty of Paris, and still the boundary from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, and from Lake Huron to the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods, was not adjusted. In fact, since the treaty of Ghent "the boundaries" had become a standing question in American politics. Much practical inconvenience was beginning to arise in the northeast, and so the diplomatists again took up the task of settlement. By a new convention, entered into in 1827, the two powers once more agreed to submit the line from the head of the St.

Croix to the St. Lawrence to an arbiter. The king of Holland was duly chosen, and to him these three questions were submitted:

1. What are, in the sense of the treaty of Paris, "the highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean"? The territory in dispute, lying between the "highlands" claimed by the United States and the "highlands" claimed by England, was 12,027 square miles or 7,697,280 acres of land, equal to one-third of the present size of the state of Maine.*

2. On which one of the streams that make up the Connecticut river is the "northwesternmost head" mentioned in the treaty to be found? Here was a dispute to the title of 100,000 acres of land, which was claimed by New Hampshire.

3. Where shall the due west line from the Connecticut to the St. Lawrence fall? The significance of this question is found in these facts: The states of Vermont and New York had adopted the old line between the colony of New York and the province of Quebec, established by royal authority before the Revolution, at the time supposed to be on the forty-fifth parallel, but which was now admitted to be too far north. The rectification of this line would cut off from Vermont and New York a narrow strip of land from half a mile to a mile wide, and would throw into Canada the fortifications at Rouse's Point, and hence the American commissioner, under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, had objected to disturbing a line so well known and so long practically established.

On the tenth of January, 1831, the royal arbiter delivered to the ministers of the two countries his decision. He held on the first question submitted, that the highlands north and the highlands south of the St. Johns would satisfy the language of the treaty equally well; that the language was "inexplicable and impracticable;" and that there was as much reason for the British as for the American claim, and *vice versa*. He accordingly made a new line, which he drew from the St. Croix to the St. Johns, and thence along the channels of that stream and of the St. Francis; the effect of the new line, as respects land, being to give 7,908 square miles to the United States, and 4,119 square miles to England.† The king came to his conclusion, said a contemporary critic, at the expense of making an important article of the treaty of Paris meaningless, at the expense of making a point in a straight line an angle, and at the expense

* See Daniel Webster to the Maine Commissioners, 'Works,' VI, 276.

† Webster's Works, VI., 276, 277.

of making the beds of two rivers highlands.* On the second and third points, his Majesty decided in favor of the British claims, except that the line should, on the western shore of Lake Champlain, be so run as to leave Rouse's Point in the United States.

Immediately the American minister at the Hague protested against the decision as to the highlands, on the ground that it abandoned the boundary of 1783 and made a new one, and his government sustained his protest. Great Britain accepted the decision.† And so after seventeen years of surveying, negotiating and arbitrating, article 5 of the treaty of Ghent fell. Nevertheless, the king of Holland's decision was an important event in the series that finally established the boundary; it had a good deal of moral weight in subsequent discussions, and was not without influence on the Webster-Ashburton negotiation.

Peculiar difficulties attended the northeastern boundary. In the first place, the disputed territory lay near the old states, and was naturally contested more vehemently than a similar region adjoining the Lake of the Woods would have been. Then the line did not follow open watercourses like the great lakes and rivers of the northwest, but ran through a meshwork of small streams, dense forests, and tangled swamps. Again, the American claim reached so far north as to fall across the line of land communication between New Brunswick and Quebec. True this line was the old New England boundary, which England had once supported as against France; but this did not mitigate the hostility with which she now saw the border brought so far north. Thirdly, the disputed district lay within particular states as well as the United States. Jurisdictional questions were raised in case of every state from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence. Naturally, these states objected to any curtailment of their limits. Maine, in particular, went to the extent of declaring that the national government had no right to alienate any part of the territory that she claimed, thus raising a constitutional question of no small difficulty and importance. Fourthly, there were involved proprietary as well as jurisdictional questions. The states of Maine and Massachusetts owned most of the lands that were in dispute in the St. Johns region, the second having a title that went back to the time when Maine was a "district" and belonged to her. The state department was not free to deal with the questions as it would have been had they related to the far west.

* North American Review, July 1831, 274.

† See President Jackson's Message to the Senate, Dec. 21, 1831.

For ten years following the king of Holland's award, the diplomatists made no progress whatever towards a settlement. And yet they were all the time busy; there was always a rejoinder for every argument and a counter-project for every project. In the meantime, population was flowing into the disputed district; the backwoodsman would not wait for diplomacy. Conflicts of jurisdiction arose. Maine raised an armed *posse*, fortified various points on the line, and put \$800,000 at the disposal of the governor for purposes of defense. Congress instructed the President to see that American interests did not suffer. Border war would have ensued had not General Scott arranged an agreement between the governors of Maine and New Brunswick whereby war was, pending negotiations, averted. The logic of events was saying loudly enough: "There must be either a settlement of the boundary or war."

Since the treaty of Ghent negotiations between the two nations had proceeded on the assumption that arbitration was the only means of settling the controversy. But when Mr. Webster became secretary of state, in 1841, he signified to her Majesty's government that the United States was ready to discuss the whole question on the basis of a conventional line. This suggestion of compromise did not spring from any doubt, on Mr. Webster's part, as to the validity of our claim on the words of the treaty of 1783, but from a conviction that a settlement was impossible save on the ground of mutual concession and of equivalents. Moreover, he held that all attempts at arbitration would prove disappointing and futile, and he recognized the fact that the peace of the two continents was seriously threatened. The queen's government fell in with Mr. Webster's suggestion, and early in 1842 sent over Lord Ashburton as a special minister to settle, if possible, not only the boundaries but some other disputes as well. Maine and Massachusetts, in response to Mr. Webster's invitation, each sent a commissioner to Washington to look after its interests. In June the negotiation began.

For a month matters had proceeded according to the usual methods of diplomacy, when everything was brought to a standstill by the inability of the British minister to offer any equivalent to Maine for the concession that she was expected to make. "In this attitude of the negotiations," says Mr. G. T. Curtis, "Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton, laying aside for the present the forms of diplomatic intercourse, sat down together in the state department to consider what could be done. The result of their numerous conferences was, that they agreed how the whole line between the United

States and the British provinces of New Brunswick and Canada ought to be adjusted."* These are the main points agreed upon in these informal conferences:

1. Seven-twelfths of the disputed territory, said to equal in value four-fifths of the whole, was given to the United States, and five-twelfths to Great Britain.

2. Great Britain conceded the free use of the St. Johns for the conveyance to tide water of timber growing on any of its branches. This was thought to be a valuable concession to the people of Maine. Enlarging upon it in the senate, in 1846, Mr. Webster uttered an opinion which, read in the light of our own times, is odd enough: "We have heard a vast deal lately of the immense value and importance of the river Columbia and its navigation; but I will undertake to say that, for all purposes of human use, the St. Johns is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is, or ever will be."†

3. The American claim touching the Connecticut was conceded.

4. It was agreed that the old colonial line from the Connecticut to the St. Lawrence should be made the boundary.

As the third and fourth of these concessions were not equivalents to Maine and Massachusetts for the concessions that they were called upon to make, and as the free navigation of the St. Johns was not considered a full equivalent, Mr. Webster agreed that the United States should pay these two states \$250,000 in money, to be equally divided between them. These questions out of the way, the negotiators proceeded to adjust the boundary from the foot of the St. Mary's to the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods. Then they passed on to the other subjects covered by the treaty, the suppression of the slave trade and extradition of criminals. In both countries the treaty was bitterly assailed, but in both it was triumphantly sustained. By common consent it ranks among the foremost treaties to which the United States has been a party. Its negotiation is justly regarded as one of Mr. Webster's many titles to great statesmanship.

More particular description of the boundary separating the United States from Great Britain, as declared at Paris in 1783, is not called for; but it will be well to recapitulate the main facts presented in this narrative.

1. The St. Croix controversy, determined in 1798 by commission under the treaty of 1794.

* *Life of Daniel Webster*, II., 115, N. Y., 1870.

† *Works*, V., 102, 103.

2. The controversy as to the islands in Passamaquoddy and Fundy bays, settled in 1817 under article 4 of the treaty of Ghent.

3. The line from the intersection of the St. Lawrence and the forty-fifth parallel to the foot of the St. Mary's, settled in 1823; also by commission under the treaty of Ghent.

4. The line from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, and the line from the foot of the St. Mary's to the northwestern point of Lake of the Woods, by the treaty of Washington, 1842.

From the preliminary articles of Paris, 1782, to the Webster-Ashburton treaty, 1842, was sixty years. In that period the original boundaries of the United States had been fixed. In the meantime, the nation had made three important annexations of territory and more than doubled in size. The United States and the British possessions now run side by side across the continent. Oregon had been the subject of negotiation between the two powers since 1818, when the boundary from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky mountains was declared, and one of the strong objections urged against the Webster-Ashburton treaty was, that it left its ownership and boundaries unsettled. The treaty of 1842, then, did not put an end to boundary disputes between the two nations. The last phase of the "Oregon Question" was settled by a second treaty of Washington, made thirty years later.

Within the boundaries now traced out lay the 827,844 square miles of territory that constituted the original United States. The population in 1783 was about three and one-quarter millions. Thus the first area of our country was less than one-fourth of its present area, and its population at the same time less than one-eighteenth of what it is to-day. This paper will close with a glance at the distribution of this territory in 1783, and at some principal changes since made.

On maps of the Revolutionary period the thirteen states—with exceptions, the principal of which will be noted in a moment—appear as they do to-day. Vermont held an undefined political position between New York and New Hampshire. Maine was a district and belonged to Massachusetts. South of the Potomac, state lines sometimes ran back from the coast a certain distance and then disappeared in the vast spaces of the west, sometimes continued on to the great river. Georgia claimed the wide belt of lands back of her to the Mississippi. South Carolina claimed a narrow strip parallel with the Georgia claim. North Carolina asserted

her right to carry her north and south boundaries on westward to the river. Next came Virginia, claiming all Kentucky. Entering what was called "the territory northwest of the river Ohio," we find Virginia putting in a claim to all, or nearly all of it. Connecticut said the land west of Pennsylvania, between the parallels 41° and $42^{\circ} 2'$ north latitude, was hers. Massachusetts held the next belt north, extending to the latitude of a point one league north of the inflow of Lake Winnipiseoge, in the state of New Hampshire. And then, as though confusion were not sufficiently confounded, New York brought up the rear of claimants by saying the whole region from Lake Erie to the Cumberland mountains belonged to her. Georgia and the Carolinas based their claims on their ancient charters; Connecticut and Massachusetts did the same. Virginia rested her right on two grounds—first, her charter of 1609, and secondly, the conquests of George Rogers Clark northwest of the Ohio in 1778. New York put in various titles—the most tangible, perhaps, being the one derived from her treaties with the Iroquois.

Various arguments persuaded the states to cede their western lands, with small reservations, to the general government, thereby creating what has long been called "the public domain;" New York in 1781, Virginia and Massachusetts in 1784, Connecticut in 1786, South Carolina in 1787, North Carolina in 1789, Georgia in 1802. Virginia released Kentucky in 1789.

Passing by adjustments of boundary disputes—disputes that had come down from colonial days—only two changes on the Atlantic slope challenge attention, as we compare the map of 1885 with that of 1785. Maine freed herself from Massachusetts and became a state in 1820. Vermont, after maintaining a very remarkable relation to New York and New Hampshire, and to the nation from 1777, was admitted to the Union in 1791. West of the mountains, Alabama and Mississippi were formed out of the Georgia and South Carolina cessions and admitted to the Union, the first in 1819, and the second in 1817. Tennessee, admitted in 1796, was the North Carolina cession. The county of Kentucky became the state of Kentucky in 1792. The noble territory northwest of the river Ohio, later called the "Northwest Territory," was divided into five noble states (leaving at the same time a large triangular-shaped piece of land to be added to the sixth one): Ohio admitted to the Union in 1803, Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1837, Wisconsin in 1848. The last territorial

change worthy of mention here is the formation of West Virginia from Virginia in 1863.

Excluding the "cessions," the thirteen original states are now sixteen states. Out of the "cessions," nine states have been formed, not to mention the part of Minnesota that was cut from the Northwest Territory. Together, the territory of the original United States is now divided into twenty-six states. Although less than one-fourth the whole in extent, these states to-day far outweigh all the rest of the Union, and they must continue to outweigh it for a long time to come and probably forever.

B. A. HINSDALE.

AUTHORITIES.—The literature of the subjects treated above is very abundant. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the northeastern boundary alone produced a volume for every league of its entire length. These are the main authorities consulted in preparing this article:

Hildreth, 'History of the United States,' Vol. II, chaps. 24, 26, 27; Vol. III, chaps. 39, 45, 46. Bancroft, 'History of the United States,' Vol. II, chap. 35; Vol. VI, chap. 37 (Boston, 1878). Parkman, 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' Vol. I, chaps. 2, 4. Curtis, 'Life of Daniel Webster,' Vol. II, chaps. 27, 29. McMaster, 'History of the People of the United States,' Vols. I, II, chaps. 4, 5, 8, 13. Webster, 'Works,' Vols. V, VI, speech in "Defense of the Treaty of Washington," and official correspondence on "The Northeastern Boundary." 'United States Statutes at Large,' Vol. VIII (Foreign Treaties). Benton, 'Thirty Years' View,' Vol. I, chap. 101, *et seq.* and 'Abridgment of the Debates of Congress,' Vols. VIII, X, XII, XIII, XIV. Lalor, 'Cyclopædia of Political Science,' 'Magazine of Western History,' March and April, 1885, "The Attempts Made to Separate the West from the Union" (Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson, D. D., LL. D.) 'North American Review,' April, 1828, "Northeastern Boundary;" October, 1828, "Our Relations with Great Britain;" July, 1831, "Northeastern and Northern Boundary;" April, 1832, "Northeastern Boundary;" April, 1843, "The Treaty of Washington." 'Statistical Atlas of the United States, based on the Results of the Ninth Census, 1870,' Monograph on "Areas and Political Divisions of the United States, 1776-1876" (S. W. Stocking; the best discussion of the subject extant, though the accompanying "Map Showing the Acquisitions of Territory," etc., is misleading as to the Louisiana Purchase).

One very prominent feature of the discussion following the Webster-Ashburton treaty was "The Battle of the Maps." This famous "battle" was precipitated by the discovery in Paris, in 1842, by Dr. Sparks, of the so-called "Franklin Map" or "Red Line Map," on which what purported to be the boundaries agreed upon at Paris were marked "with a strong red line." There is some reason to suppose that the red line was drawn by Dr. Franklin, one of the American commissioners in 1783. Not only did this map support the British view of the treaty, but it actually conceded more than the British demanded. Dr. Sparks' discovery led to the production of sundry other maps, said to have been used at Paris, and to a very exhaustive discussion of the cartographical feature of the case, (see Curtis, 'Life of Daniel Webster,' Vol. II, chapter 29, and 'The North American Review,' April, 1843, "The Treaty of Washington," an article by Dr. Sparks). The problem of the Franklin map has never been solved. In brief, the problem is, first, the genuineness of the map, and then, granting its genuineness, the query: How came Dr. Franklin ever to draw such a line? Of course the answer to the last question is clear enough from the old British standpoint. The last conjecture is one thrown out by Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, to the effect that Dr. Franklin drew the "red line" as a diplomatic ruse, his object being to throw Count de Vergennes "off the scent" of a secret negotiation between the British and American ambassadors. (See "The Boundaries Formerly in Dispute," etc., a lecture, Montreal, 1885.) The question is rather curious than important. These old maps were of no value in 1842, because the negotiation was on the basis of a new and conventional boundary line.

JOEL T. HART, THE KENTUCKY SCULPTOR.

In the first weeks of January of the present year the body of Joel T. Hart, the sculptor, was brought home from Florence, where it had lain for eight years, and laid in the soil of his native state of Kentucky. Quietly and unostentatiously the act was done. It was the act of the state, which honored him as he had loved her, but scarcely any one heard of it. Had he been a successful soldier, a statesman, or even a literary man, such a deed could not have been done in a corner; but although he had won no small fame, it was in such a sequestered walk that few remembered to do him honor. Even though it may be true that the part such artists play is but a small part towards the making of their country's history, even though they make but the minutest factor in the daily life of the work-a-day world, they yet add much to the eventual sum of advance, and are always remembered in the final estimate of a nation's growth, period by period and epoch by epoch. And from the broad point of view of national life and growth, Joel T. Hart was a man of a peculiarly interesting type. He was an embodiment of that new life which sprang up in the west in the early days. Sturdy, independent, rough-hewn, he met every problem in an unconventional but withal an earnest, manly way. This phase of temperament has been well exemplified in every other department, and its effects have been well known and understood. But in art it is not only unprecedented, but it would seem to all but unfit one for success in such a sphere. That Hart should have obtained eminence is therefore not only the more remarkable, but it throws about his work an interest which it might not have possessed otherwise.

Joel T. Hart was born in Clark county, Kentucky, in 1810, the date of his birth not being exactly known; and died in Florence, Italy, in March, 1877. His parents were plain, unpretentious country folk, and had no part in that "aristocracy," or better, "slavocracy," which was the peculiar institution of Virginia and Kentucky, and controlled almost, if not all, the wealth of the country. His mother, indeed, who seems to have been a woman of many high traits, had inherited a little property, the greater part of which was in a few slaves. She was of a higher nature than the

customs about her warranted, for she freed her negroes at the expense of a life-long struggle to keep the wolf from the door. The whole of Clark county is given up to agricultural pursuits, and mostly to grazing, and young Hart found little to call out the inborn talent. He began life as a stonemason. The utmost he could find to exercise his craft upon was an occasional chimney of rough stones, while his more frequent work was stone-fence building. There was nothing in this to hold him, and before he had reached manhood he left his home for Lexington, the county-seat of the neighboring county of Fayette, and apprenticed himself to a marble worker.

Lexington was then the most important place in Kentucky. Its schools and colleges, especially old Transylvania university, were much the best in the west; it was the centre of wealth and culture; its bar, with Henry Clay at its head, was known throughout the land; in no respect could Hart have fallen upon a better spot in all the land west of the mountains. He did not step forth a genius full-fledged. His powers were latent as yet, unknown to himself, unsuspected by those about him, and only to be developed by long years of conscientious, painstaking work. There was probably in his whole life not a single brilliant flash, but, at the same time his growth was steady, constant and decided. He began simply with cutting the ordinary work of a monument mason. He showed an immediate aptitude, he developed in good time a decided talent. No sooner was this talent manifested than he was assisted to develop it further. A kindly patronage enabled him to attempt a bust, and to begin a course of anatomical studies in the university. His success was so marked that he was employed in rapid succession to execute busts of Cassius M. Clay, John J. Crittenden and Andrew Jackson. All of these were satisfactory, and led to a widening of his reputation, and proved the stepping-stones to better things. Looking back upon them from the point he afterward reached, it is easy to see that all of this work was only a beginning. Through it you may see the man feeling for the light beyond it in persistent work, study and growth. He had every quality of handicraft that could be desired. He was accurate, bold and true to nature. There was nothing cramped, nothing little or mean. Mannerisms were wholly unknown to him. There was a lack that was patent; his *mind* had no training to the art to which he was apprenticed. He had no culture in it, no knowledge of its history, scarcely any of its means and methods. He knew and felt all this, but fate seemed inexora-

ble. His daily bread was dependent upon his daily labor. He could not as yet see how he was to break away into that upper air where he might breathe freely. Just as the need grew patent and pressing the means came. A liberal order from Richmond, Virginia, came just at this time for a full length statue of Henry Clay for the capitol. This was in 1849, and he was already thirty-nine years of age. The work was completed, and with it that formative period to which every work up to this time belonged.

He saw how plainly deficient he was in many things that his art demanded. He was never the least severe critic on his work, though he yielded to occasional bursts of self-satisfaction that were well nigh absurd. Comparatively he was never a fair critic, he always thought his work much better than other sculpture that was far beyond its furthest stretch. But despite that, he knew his best might easily know a better; he saw exactly where the weak points lay, and struck truly in every effort to remove them. Transported with a new life by the new world that had burst upon his uncultured mind, new aspirations sprang up within him. He had never dreamed up to this time of any other work than portraiture. The ideal became now his dream, waking and sleeping. It is well nigh impossible to picture to one's-self the intense delight of one thus introduced into the world of art whose charm he knew without knowing its past, or the attainments of its masters. From this time, day in and day out, he studied in the galleries; year by year he renewed his study of anatomy in the best schools of Europe. But whatever might have been his choice, he could not give over all else to the pursuit of this one ambition. He had to live, and to live he had to work on those lines that met his present demand. Under these hard circumstances his absolute and entire devotion to his art appears in the strongest light. He had set a goal before his eyes, he had put his hand to the work, and his labor was untiring, unceasing. He was never known to turn aside from his steady pursuit of the desired end, nor to break the slow but sure pace which marked his upward progress. He even sacrificed upon this altar the master passion. When he left Kentucky to go to Italy, he had already for some time been engaged to a young lady in Lexington, every way fit to be a helpmate for him. The problem stared him in the face: how was he to support two on what was but a scanty subsistence for one. Two paths lay open to him. He could fall back into a simple artisan, and living as they lived, exist; or he could press on to the goal of his ambi-

tion, hopeful only that he could work out for himself fame, fortune and happiness. He does not seem to have faltered for a moment. He chose well, no doubt. The romance went out of his life. She whom he had loved, after years of separation, married another, while he kept her memory solitary as a kind of a household god, not potent as a real presence, surely, but one of those figments of the imagination that so many console themselves with for the real thing they have let slip away.

As the statue of Clay for the capitol at Richmond was the last step in that formative period before he reached the full measure of his strength, so it was also the connecting link to the opening years of success. In the modeling of this statue he had spent several years, years in which he saw a great deal of Mr. Clay and studied him intensely. Henry Clay was a man of rare individuality, haughty, overbearing, domineering to the outer world; warm and genial to the inner circle of friends; his was a character that had written itself in every line and pose of his body. To catch this and convey it to his cold stone so that it should become instinct with life was no mean task, and it was the chief labor of Hart's life. He studied him in every act of his active public life, and in the softer moods of private relaxation. By general consent, the result was better than the work of any other man. This is embodied most fully in the next work he accomplished—the statue which was wrought for the city of Louisville and completed in 1867. This, too, marked the highest point which he attained in the domain of portraiture.

The great orator stands firmly, with one foot slightly advanced, the tips of the fingers of his left hand resting lightly on a stand at his side, with his right hand raised as if for silence. The figure is erect and straight, not thrown back as he has been so often portrayed. The masterly head, full of the spirit of life, catches clearly the well marked peculiarities of conformation and expression. As a portrait it is excellent, as a work of art it is equally admirable. The plain costume of the time, the stern simplicity of the man, gave small scope for the artist's power. When one recalls the splendid antique statues of orators, such as the Demosthenes at Naples, it is easy to see the artistic possibilities in the dress, and when one has the "action" of the Attic forum to give a dramatic possibility of the highest kind, it seems as if one might well falter before the stiff lines and ungraceful folds of nineteenth century dress; but, more than that, to a Clay the "action" of a Demosthenes would have been little better than the contortions of a mountebank. What the artist had

before him was to throw the same eloquence, the same spirit of mastery, into the manly form clad on with dignity.

In every sense there was here exhibited growth. The breadth and boldness of his earlier work are still preserved. The long study in the sphere of the ideal had worked out an elevation of conception which cut away the boldness of too servile a copying. When placed beside the Richmond statue, the advance of the artist in all his methods is patent. This served as the basis for the great bronze statue which he cast soon afterwards for the city of New Orleans. It was not to be expected that this should exhibit any advance or any remarkable excellence. Hart had none of that facile genius which does with equal skill things in various spheres. It was but another proof that he worked conscientiously, but not under the promptings of rare powers.

Already Hart had been engaged for some years on what he intended should be his masterpiece. In January, 1865, he wrote to his life-long friend Cassius M. Clay: "It is to the Ideal that I have mainly devoted myself for the fifteen past years, only allowing two or three busts to go out of my hands, . . . and have at last gratified my passion in modeling a life size ideal virgin and child in a group. The figures are nude—"Beauty's Triumph." The being assailed by Cupid rests her left foot on his exhausted quiver and holds his last arrow in triumph, for which he pleads, tiptoeing after it. It gives the most graceful and finest attitude, both to the woman and the boy. All who speak out say that the attitude is finer than either the Venus de Medici or the Venus de Milo at Paris. Rhinehart, the Baltimore sculptor, whom Powers says is the best sculptor America has yet produced (save our dear selves), says it is the finest work in Florence. Such speeches are now every day being made. The idea is modern and my own. Though not near finished, it is a far finer work than I ever expected to produce. I have casts of all the greatest antiques and moderns of the Venus family, and the like, in my studio. The best connoisseurs say that none of them equal mine. But this is too much at least for me to say, but it is to you I am writing."

Certainly the estimate placed upon his work in this letter was absurdly excessive. It is productive of a strange mixture of laughter and derision, the one for the ridiculousness of a comparison with the Milo, the other for the egotism that could make such a comparison. But it must be remembered that this letter is the outpouring of the inmost thoughts to a dear friend, who, if he ever erred, erred in too extreme admiration. Such

expressions would never have been let fall out of a little chosen circle. Hart, no doubt, was filled with self-confidence. He overestimated nearly always this work; indeed, nearly all who saw this masterpiece in the clay overestimated it. But he was never carried out of the path of right endeavor by any such weakness. It was more than twenty years after this letter was written before the work was completed. He worked at it ceaselessly, adding here a little, there a little, remodeling, changing a pose, shifting a line. He was sure he had wrought a great work, but he was never content to stay from making a minute addition to its perfection. In the end the form it took was considerably different from the original model; the essence remained the same, however. In the beginning he called it "Beauty's Triumph," then "The Triumph of Chastity." But the name that was finally graven on the marble was "Woman Triumphant." The *motif*, as defined by Hart in a conversation early in 1872, is best embodied in the "Triumph of Chastity." It is that of the pure woman of our later day rising supreme above the assaults of love. Cupid has spent his wiles upon her; every dart is expended; all, save the last, lie broken around him, and while his empty quiver hangs bootless on his back, the woman holds his latest arrow safely out of reach. The pleading Love does empty court about her feet; truth and purity prevail. This may well be denominated by its author a modern idea. How different is it from the Venus Victrix? The whole conception is higher, nobler, not even less poetic, for while the beauty of the myth embodied in the antique is unquestionable, so, too, is this, standing forth as it does, the symbol of utter purity. It is a mistaken idea, and recognized by the best authorities as such—yet hardly lived up to—that poetry of that kind that is fitting for an art theme, is the offspring of license. Cause and effect are here senselessly confused. Greek influences have so dominated art, most especially the plastic art, and Greek myths are so largely sprung from the licentious fountain of Greek mythology, that the two factors are hopelessly mingled. The poetry in the Greek was not dependent on this mythology, but he beautified a sensual cult, with the inherent beauty of his nature. So the pre-Raphaelite poets have too often to-day embraced the lewd only, in trying to strip off its garment for their own creations. The great dominant principle in poetic conceptions is still truth, beauty and purity, combined into a single symphony and blended with infinite variations. The spell of a young and pure civilization was potent in Hart's mind; it mastered it, and gave to him a conception characteristic

of itself. Hart himself frequently spoke of the ideal he held before his soul's eyes. It was his aim to embody this ideal not according to the rules of his art. He indeed recognized the perfection attained by that scale of proportions. None caught more clearly than he the lithe beauty of the Greek's sinewy form. But there was another form embalmed in his memory. Kentucky has always been famous for the greater size of her people than the other states of the Union. Added to this superior size there was a fullness of habit and a strength in the knitting of the figure that has often been remarked. Not less have the women of that favored state been famous for their beauty than for their superior stature. It was the ideal woman of this type that Hart set before his mind as his model. He had spent the impressionable time of life under its spell. To him the sensuous forms of the Greek divinities had less charm than this type, with its dominant mind shining through and controlling the physical shape. Turning thus from the older instincts of art, he acted on an originality that had become too rare in sculpture. No other art has ever been so rule-bound. Perfected at such an early period, instinct with the life of a race long faded from the earth, it has in its models held out to all generations a summit too great for attainment.

The most perfect attainments in all spheres of art have been reached under the influence of some great impulse. Great artists have never been alone and solitary, like lofty peaks sprung from the lowly plain. They have been always the crowning summits of mighty ranges, the choicest spirits of noble companies. But sculpture has known no such impulse, at least since the renaissance. Most men have grown to count it well nigh effete. This is, no doubt, too harsh a judgment. So long as it has power to please, and to please by appeals to the nobler quality of man's mind, it has its place; but, too long have originality and the highest ideals been wanting. Once and again has the cry of a new-found interpreter gone forth, but the flame from off his altar has again "faded away as fire from off a brand the wind blows over," and Nature, that wayward goddess, would not have her oracles declared at his hand. In the earlier days of this century, when that happy revival of good taste was consummated, it really seemed that a new school was going to give us true and noble art work. Much of the product of that time was indeed admirable; too little rose beyond that meagre measure. Men learned to criticise, but could not reproduce.

It was in so finished an art as this, 'neath this prevailing blight, that

Hart lived and struggled. But he had not been bred in the pent air of the schools, he had not caught their affectation, not even their conservatism, scarcely their reverence for the antique. To this he owed that independence, that boldness, that led him to adopt for his model his new world ideal. It was a bold step. Was it not a true one?

Such a step was, of course, not wholly unexampled. The smallest acquaintance with art history will recall instances of this. The "Dying Gladiator" affords a notable example of a departure from the supple Greek mould for the more massive, heavier frame of the Gaul. Not only was it, then, not in opposition to the genius of his art, but rather in accord with it. But it was no less bold. No one on first looking at this work but will be thrown out of sympathy with it, if he is thoroughly familiar with the antique. The instant impression is one of heaviness, and even of coarseness both in trunk and limbs. This impression rapidly gives way before discerning study, and an unprejudiced mind can hardly miss its excellencies. But it needs no exposition to be apparent that such a circumstance would be enough to deter most men from such a task. First impressions are too deep to be lightly thrown away. Hart, however, was bent on one end, and that end he attained. The ideal of his youth is fitly embodied in his marble. Critics may judge it in many ways and from many standpoints, but the ultimate verdict must be for him. With the elements of originality, a noble theme, and no mean talents, it could scarcely have been otherwise. That he should have missed the dizzy height he climbed for, is not to be wondered at. He lacked many, even most of the requisites, personal and of environment, for such a feat. Alone, surrounded by men content to reflect a by-gone glory; by nature lacking even the highest and subtlest appreciation of what had been done in sculpture, and without even an education in the impressionable period of life in the principles of his art; a man of talent and unfailing perseverance instead of genius, how could he soar so high? But like many another man who has shot at the sun, he has made a goodly flight. He certainly stands high in that little group of American sculptors, of whom we are far from ashamed—side by side with Powers, and Rodgers, and Rhinehart.

In these few principal works his career seems to be written. Such works as his charming little "Morning Glory," the little maid bearing those evanescent blossoms, so like her own delicate bloom, in her scant but dainty garment; the "La Penserosa," and all the other works which

he wrought from time to time seemed but the wayside musing of his muse.

Among his minor works we may pause to notice one which, seemingly very slight, yet has a great spell about it. This is only a hand—a woman's hand—nothing greater, but having such a magic charm about its shapely loveliness that it seems almost as if it might have suggested to Browning his ideal hand. Says the poet:

" 'As like as a hand to another hand ;'
Who said that never took his stand,
Found and followed, like me, an hour,
The beauty in this.
This hand whose beauty I praise, apart
From the world of wonder left to praise,
If I tried to learn the other ways
Of love, in its skill, or love, in its power."

So much for the man's life as it is mirrored in his works. Let us step from out them, see him as he works, and see, too, the man as those about him knew him. Hart never gave over the practice of working in the marble itself. He oftentimes took the place of his workmen and renewed the memories of youthful days. Especially at the time that his masterpiece was under the hands of the cutters did he work with restless excitement. No one who has ever been in Italian studios can fail to appreciate the irksomeness of the delays arising out of the constantly recurring high days and holidays. This, falling on a restless spirit eager to have done the final labors crowning a life's work, was provoking in the extreme. The form was already breaking through the marble, like an Aphrodite rising from the foam. Is there anything in all the range of art half so beautiful as this slow unveiling? The figure seems to have been there always; the stone but a magic covering of the enchanted being; the covering of white stone, with its countless points of black, as if they had been drilled down to the quivering flesh within and not simply measured distances to work by. Chip by chip flies away, clearer and yet more clear the vision grows, till it seems to be instinct with life. While this went slowly forward, Hart took his chisel and improved each *gesta*. Days wore on and pride and joy grew apace. Is it any wonder that now, an old man of sixty-six, he should long for the full embodiment of his long dream? But it was not only on such rare and exceptional occasions as this that the clay yielded place to the marble. Throughout his life he did much of the finishing work, touching and retouching, going over the more delicate parts, or even doing the greater part of the work on certain

important portions. He was as familiar with the one material as the other, each yielded alike to the magic of his touch.

In personal appearance, Hart was by no means remarkable. Slightly above the medium size, with plain, homely features and a bushy brown beard, there was nothing to suggest that he was one in whom art was the great dominant chord. He was of a genial, self-reliant nature, often running into over-estimation, which was of so quiet a kind as scarcely to amount to self-conceit. His sunny temper made him friends wherever he went, and in his native state he has left a very fragrant memory. This has led to the gathering of all of his most important works in the cities of Louisville and Lexington. Indirectly this fact may have curtailed his fame—removing these works from the eyes of the writing coteries of the eastern states. If they are hard to get at, this collocation has at least the advantages of enabling the student to study his life in his works with ease, and of great facility for comparison. No sculptor, except Powers only, has deserved more of this country than Hart, and it is pleasant to see that his merit has been recognized in the way that would have pleased him best.

"Such he was, and such he was not, and such other might have been,
But that somehow every actor, somewhere in this earthly scene,
Fails."

With the completion of his masterpiece, his health drooped and failed. His three-score years and ten were nearly run, but the span was not to be completed. In March, 1877, calmly and quietly he passed away, leaving many friends to mourn his loss, and a memory that shall long be green.

ETHELBERT DUDLEY WARFIELD.

GRANT AND LEE—AN ESTIMATE.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The war of the Revolution brought out one commander who rose above all competitors as a military chief. In the wars of 1812 and 1846, another military genius attained a reputation acknowledged not only by his countrymen but by the leading generals of Europe. The third most conspicuous commander in the United States was brought out by the war of secession, with more battles and larger armies than had been witnessed on this continent, requiring greater breadth and acuteness of military comprehension. These three generals had very few personal qualities in common. General Grant was not, like Scott and Washington, of imposing and graceful presence. He was never a student of civil or military history, or of general literature. Whatever there is to admire or criticise in his character is entirely original, not artificial or affected, not based upon models ancient or modern. His childlike simplicity of manner has no counterpart in the life of the other great captains. Whatever military genius he possessed was instinctive. His reticence was natural, not studied, nor was it misanthrophy or stoicism, for his dislikes were few and his friendships many and almost affectionate. To a reflective mind nothing is more congenial than silence, which emphasizes meditation. A person who does not freely express his thoughts may appear cold and forbidding to strangers, and may require long and even confidential acquaintance before he is appreciated.

His qualities were not adapted to the politician, but were such that his opponents have shown themselves generally respectful. No person can be President and not make political enemies.

In person he was somewhat below the medium height, with a compact figure, approaching the robust; strong, firm, and active, but not nervous. His features in the early war times were very much concealed by a rank growth of sandy hair, very seldom trimmed, but there were indications of a large brain. His forehead was perfectly smooth and immovable, indicating a placid temper, with clear, pleasant blue eyes. To all necessary inquiries he was conspicuous for a prompt reply in the fewest

words, so expressed as to leave no doubt of his meaning. He was not a speaker, but a clear writer. His judgment of military subordinates was exceptionally good, with a disposition to give them full recognition for their services. He managed the most gigantic enterprises with the business-like ease of ordinary affairs. His convictions were fixed and his personal attachments unwavering. There is no reported instance where his mental equipoise was disturbed under circumstances the most aggravating and responsible.

The storm of battle—where the situation changes incessantly, requiring new combinations of great moment, with no time for consideration—was met with calmness, at least externally. He did not appear to appreciate his own powers, which were used in a manner so undemonstrative that many of those around him were not aware of the breadth of his mental operations.

In this quiet energy he did not appear to consider himself, his comfort, his health or his fame. Military events absorbed all his attention. Those whose habits came nearest to his own were favorites, while those who did not come up to this standard made the discovery in a way not to create ill-will. His military perfection was of slow growth, but solid. It was not modeled upon maxims of generals in our army or in history. Shiloh changed his entire view of the contest. When the rebels gathered a new army he adopted a new theory of conducting the campaign. It was not to be a display of strategy or the capture of places, but a destruction of their men and resources whenever they could be reached. In his view the war would last as long as they had an army. One maxim comprised everything but the circumstances of each attack. To make this effective covered the whole science of strategy and maneuver. This capacity for a sudden change of programme, on sufficient grounds, is a high military quality. In Mexico and in the late war he did not favor his own comfort, health or personal danger, or that of his men, in the line of duty. His escapes from death are so numerous that they seem to be providential. Before the close of the rebellion the tremendous exposures of his position began to tell upon his extraordinary powers of endurance.

The journey around the world, instead of repairing his physical condition, appears to have had the contrary effect.

Of financial ability in his private affairs he was unusually deficient.

Although freely receiving the opinions of his officers, his plans he never

divulged to inferiors or superiors until the orders were issued. When in command of the army, neither the secretary of war nor the President knew of his military designs in advance.

No occupation imposes a greater strain upon all the faculties than the command of armies in a vigorous campaign. General Grant, like many of our prominent commanders, felt the effects of such exposures, and like them rests in a premature grave. Only a few of them survive.

The disadvantages that General Grant labored against from the ill-will of General Halleck have not been appreciated. His plan for a movement on Fort Henry was suggested at St. Louis, soon after General Halleck assumed command of the division of the Mississippi, in November, 1861. It was received so coolly at headquarters that Grant felt it must be offensive. He did not however lose hope, especially as it had the hearty support of Commodore Foote. Preparations went on quietly through the month of December, and in January, 1862, it was again broached at St. Louis. No encouragement was received, and probably would not have been had it not been for the executive order directing all the armies to move forward not later than the twenty-second of February. This quite disconcerted the Fabian generals. Grant had everything ready, the troops quartered on the transports, and Commodore Foote kept steam up on the gun-boats waiting for the moment when permission should reach Cairo. The fleet took Fort Henry at once. Grant was conscious that he would not be allowed to proceed further. He determined at once to move on Donelson, but the rains and high water prevented. When the news of the surrender of Fort Henry reached St. Louis, General Halleck issued orders to General Grant to fortify the place and remain there. Before this order reached him Fort Donelson was invested. Events occurred so rapidly that before another order from headquarters reached there the capture had taken place. The next order placed General Grant in arrest. General C. F. Smith was placed in command of that army while the hero of Donelson was quartered upon the *Tigress*.

General Halleck evidently meant to dispense with the services of Grant, in which he had much support at Washington. General McClellan and General Buell, like General Halleck, were constitutionally like Fabians, moderate in military affairs. The gentle pressure policy of General Scott, popularly known as the great anaconda, had not entirely lost ground with the administration in the fall of 1861. Mr. Cameron, the elder, then secretary of war, has recently stated that he had great difficulty in saving

General Grant. His command at Shiloh was an accident and owing to the severe illness of General C. F. Smith. In giving his assent to it General Halleck forbade any movement until he should arrive, or any thing to provoke a battle. Before Halleck reached the army Shiloh was fought. No mention is made of Grant in his report, and although the latter was present in the advance on Corinth, he was not consulted or treated with military consideration.

When the army of the Tennessee was on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite Vicksburgh, General Halleck was in command of all the armies, with headquarters at Washington. General Grant well knew that his movement into Mississippi on Jackson and the rear of Vicksburgh would be countermanded as soon as it was known there. The march had been continued three days before he made a report. To reach Washington by way of Cairo and for a response to reach him would occupy eight days, and in that time he hoped to invest Vicksburgh. While the last engagement was going on at the railroad crossing of the Big Black river the anticipated order was delivered, directing him to join General Banks at Port Hudson. He assumed the responsibility of disregarding it, and the next day established the outer lines of investment around Vicksburgh. Most of this inside history is found in the reported conversations of General Grant by J. Russell Young during the voyage around the world.

The distressing circumstances that were concentrated into the last months of his life are well known to his countrymen. They embraced a combination of trials both mental and physical, which involved so many forms of suffering, and were borne with so much heroism that the hearts of all his friends were touched, and the sincere sympathy of those who were not was everywhere manifest.

During this brief period a disease was developed attended by intense pain, and of a character so virulent that all hopes of recovery were given up at once. Day by day becoming physically more weak, his equanimity did not forsake him, even under the sudden loss of an entire fortune by the rascality of those in whom he confided. His mind was clear, and as usual took in a great variety of details. A literary work covering all his campaigns was continued until the last week, while the border line of the future was plainly visible. This prospect was met with the same sublime calmness displayed on many a battle-field. No name has appeared more often in print wherever English types are used than that of Grant.

The greatest city of a great country was moved in the presence of his

mortal remains as it was never moved before. In many other cities there were eloquent eulogies, processions of civilians, military displays, and mournfully drooping flags. An unprecedented procedure took place at Westminster Abbey in London. A gifted orator addressed an audience of the princes, aristocracy and great men of England, in a manner so impressive as to produce profound emotion.

ROBERT E. LEE.

As a young man General Lee presented a high type of manly beauty without the affectation that frequently mars the value of such a gift. He was also a Virginia gentleman of aristocratic descent, but without any of the disagreeable pretensions that have made many F. F. V.'s ridiculous. His manners were gentle and modest, but dignified and impressive. He had no predisposition to an idle life or a fast one. He was sedate, studious and talented. In 1829 he graduated at the head of his class at West Point, and was, of course, commissioned brevet second lieutenant of engineers. Very rarely has a young graduate possessed more of the moral, mental and physical qualifications of a model officer. His form was above medium size, well proportioned, graceful and capable of endurance. His profession was his pride, with a just and lofty military ambition.

In the war with Mexico, as a captain of engineers, he had the full confidence of General Scott. He showed not only skill as a military engineer, but daring in reconnoissance of the enemy's works at El Pinon Contreras and at Chapultepec. When the rebellion came on he was lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, a friend and military adviser of Scott, and would have been made second in command of the Federal forces if he had not deserted his flag to go over to the enemy. Evidently this was a lack of personal honor in his otherwise noble character.

Through a fundamental weakness in the Federal constitution, the military *élèves* of the nation, commissioned in her service, ignored the oaths they had taken, united in armed treason against their country, and with perfect safety, for by reason of this defect they subjected themselves to no punishment, civil or military. Treason is now the safest crime that can be committed. It is not even dishonorable.

The southern confederacy was somewhat slow to bestow upon General Lee an active command in the field. When it was done it was the result of the disability of General Johnston by wounds received in the seven



R. E. L.

days' contest near Richmond, in July, 1862. Probably age, with the absence of dash and self-assertion, delayed his promotion.

General Lee's position at Gettysburg was a trying one. Jefferson Davis and the southern people were rabid on the subject of a northern invasion.

The plan of carrying war across the Potomac to the Susquehanna and the Delaware inflamed the victorious army of which Lee was the head. Its brilliancy and the popular vehemence possibly affected the sober clearness of his judgment. As he moved northerly behind South mountain, the Federal army was on his right flank, a full day's march behind.

To reach Philadelphia his course must be changed to the east, nearly at right angles, and the mountain range must be passed. By this change of direction one day's march was lost to him and gained by his adversaries.

When the new direction was taken up, Meade was still upon Lee's flank with numbers nearly equal. To the Confederate commander retreat without battle would have called down the anathemas of his army and his constituents, to which military necessity would have been no reply. They had imbibed the doctrine of invincibility, which is very well in soldiers, but their general is compelled to consider the chances of defeat. Whatever his private judgment may have been, circumstances were inexorable, leaving him no choice but that of an offensive battle. The result must have crushed his hopes of ultimate success. To call it a disappointment would be to use a feeble expression. The emotions of the night when he ordered the retreat, however depressing, could be confided to no living soul. Overcome physically by the strain of a three days' battle, burdened by defeat and perhaps by the apparition of remorse for his ingratitude to the triumphant government, his bitterest foe must experience sentiments of pity for the old general.

At midnight, in the solitude of his tent on Seminary Ridge, he was heard to moan in the depth of his anguish, "Too bad! Too bad! Too bad!"

With a full consciousness of departing health and strength, he tendered his resignation, which was not accepted.

The rigor and the pertinacity of the defense of Petersburg proved to be the most brilliant part of his military career. His capabilities for successful resistance were evidently greater than those for attack. At Appomattox, after the surrender, a scene occurred more touching than the one in the tent at Gettysburg. There were tears on both sides when

he passed through the rebel camp, repeating those farewell words, "I have done all for you that I could."

The generous terms allowed by General Grant did not produce corresponding results among the Confederate troops. Secession is to the moral sense what *piemia* is in the blood. Men and officers signed their paroles, agreeing to abide the laws, mounted and rode away the horses which General Grant, by a stretch of liberality, permitted them to keep, and went to their homes to act precisely as though no parol had been taken. They continued to violate and to defy the Federal laws and constitution, as they had their repeated oaths, to the full extent it was possible and escape the military consequences.

Mr. Davis appears to have been on bad terms personally with a large proportion of his generals. It began on the field of Bull Run with J. E. Johnston, Beauregard and G. W. Smith. As commander-in-chief he assumed the powers of a captain-general in military affairs.

The publications of the Confederate general officers disclose a systematic interference with their plans and a persistent distrust of their abilities. The best of causes, supported by the best of armies, would surely fail under personal quarrels with the supreme authority, necessarily paralyzing the service and causing discord among the subordinates. But General Lee was an exception. Between himself and Mr. Davis there was mutual confidence, and as far as the latter is capable of it there was friendship.

Not considering the "damned spot" of treason, R. E. Lee was one of the full grown characters that became conspicuous in the war. General Thomas, another son of Virginia, resembled him mentally and physically. Both were quiet, reflective, slow and moderate in speech, considerate, just. In rapid and brilliant military conceptions, Generals Grant and Sherman excelled them both. Albert Sidney Johnston had a promising future. But military futures are delusive. He fell before success, the only test of generalship in great battles, was his. Stonewall Jackson and Longstreet, Sheridan and Hooker were without prestige, but reached the front rank of fame and will there remain. Generals McClellan and Joseph E. Johnston were the representative Fabians of the two armies.

CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

THE EARLY MARINE INTERESTS OF CLEVELAND.

The blue waters of Lake Erie were no less blue than they are to-day, and the green foliage that lines its banks was no less green, when, in 1679, La Salle, "the handsome, blue-eyed cavalier, with smooth cheeks and abundant ringlets," and Father Hennepin, with "sandaled feet, a coarse, gray capote and peaked hood, the cord of St. Francis about his waist, and a rosary and crucifix hanging at his side," set sail from the Niagara river and pushed the famous ship *Griffin* against the unknown dangers, and into the unsailed water-paths of Erie. Three names were then bestowed upon the lake—the high-sounding Lac de Conti of La Salle, the Erie Tejocharonting of the Indians who lived on its banks, and the shorter Erie, with which the Franciscan friar compromised with the native term. The moderns have made common cause with Father Hennepin, and Lake Erie it is and will doubtless remain as long as its waters shine under the sun. The venerable priest has himself left this record of the building of that ship:

It was on the twenty-second of January, 1679, that we began to clear a place on the banks of the Niagara river for the purpose of constructing a vessel, and on the thirtieth the keel was ready to be laid. . . . On the day appointed to launch her it was named the *Griffin*, and we fired three cannon and sung the *Te Deum*, which was accompanied with whoops and cries of joy. The Iroquois who happened to be on the spot that day were witnesses of the ceremony. We gave them *l'eau de vie* (brandy) to drink, and they also partook of our delight. From that time we quitted our cabin on the shore and slept on the vessel to be out of the way of insults from the Indians. We were at last ready to sail, our crew consisting in all of thirty-four persons, and the day of our departure from Lake Erie was on the seventh of August, 1679.

The entrance from the lake at the point where Moses Cleaveland, in later years, surveyed the forest on the present site of our fair city, may or may not have been seen or touched by the bold Frenchman, but if he did land here he has left no record of that fact. In a search of the early records and meagre accounts which our explorers and pioneers have left, we find in the deed of trust from seven of the sachems of the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas to the king of England and his successors,—made in the year Fort Niagara was built—a description of the lands conveyed, wherein mention is made of "the creek called Canahogue"—the form in which our modern Cuyahoga in those days appeared. The next mention of the

Cuyahoga declares that "about the same period (1753-4), perhaps a little earlier, a French post of some kind was established on the Cuyahoga. It is shown on Lewis Evans' map of 1755, as a 'French house' five or six miles up the river, on the west side. The language would indicate a trading house, but it was probably sufficiently fortified to resist a sudden attack of hostile Indians. This was the first European establishment within the limits of Cuyahoga county." The river again appears in the records, in 1786, when two schooners of the Northwestern Fur company, the *Beaver* and the *Mackinaw*, on their way to Detroit, were overtaken by a furious storm, and tried to run into the Cuyahoga river for shelter. It was snowing at the time, and both failed. The *Mackinaw* outrode the storm, and unacquainted with the misfortune of her sister ship, proceeded to its destination in safety. The *Beaver* was wrecked near the point now known as the foot of Willson avenue. The men, so far as is known, all escaped and reached the shore, and as it was late in the season they built a cabin and remained here until spring.

In one of the old maps published in 1760, can be found the following:

Cuyahoga, a creek that leads to Lake Erie, which is muddy and not very swift, and nowhere obstructed with falls or rifts, is the best portage between the Ohio and Lake Erie. The mouth is wide, and deep enough to receive large sloops from the lake, and will hereafter be of great importance.

When this point was selected as the capital, so to speak, of the townships General Cleaveland and his associates were surveying under orders of the company, the Cuyahoga emptied into the lake west of its present artificial mouth, and still farther west could be seen the location of a still earlier bed, which was then only a stagnant pond. Across the river mouth ran a bar of sand, which, in the spring and fall was torn open by the floods, but in summer rose so high that even the small schooners of the day had difficulty in passing in and out. Once inside, the water was deep and the harborage good. I have gleaned a variety of incidents about the early days of Cleveland's shipping, and here present them without any attempt at chronologic order. Colonel Whittlesey, in his history of Cleveland, says:

When the first settlers came here, and even as late as 1830, there were evidencies of the clearing which Captain Thorn (whose shipwreck is mentioned above) made around his cabin, in old stumps and in the second growth of timber. Captain Lorenzo Carter procured from the wreck, in the year 1807, the irons for the rudder of his new schooner, the *Zephyr*. . . . In 1808 Mr. Carter built the *Zephyr*, of thirty tons, intended particularly for the trade of this place.

In the same year it was burned by the British at Conjocketa creek, near Black Rock. In 1810 Messrs. Murray & Bixby built the *Ohio*, of sixty

tons. She was sailed by Captain John Austen, and afterwards became a part of Commodore Perry's fleet, but took no part in the great fight, being absent on other service. In 1813, Levi Johnson, who had made some money by house-building and by one or two successful trading enterprises, laid the keel of the *Pilot*, a vessel of thirty-five tons, to be used for trading purposes. For convenience in the way of lumber, he erected it on what is now Euclid avenue, at the corner of Sheriff street, fully a half mile from the river. When it was done it was mounted on wheels, and the farmers of Euclid and Newburgh townships came in with twenty-eight yoke of oxen, and hauled it down Superior street, amid the intense excitement of the people, where it was successfully launched on the waters of the Cuyahoga. While the *Pilot* was under construction another craft, the *Lady of the Lake*, of about thirty tons, was being built by Mr. Gaylord, a brother of the wife of the senior Leonard Case. This vessel was sailed by Captain Stone between Detroit and Buffalo. The *Pilot* was kept busy from the first in the employ of the United States, carrying army stores and troops, and touching at Detroit, Maumee, Erie, Buffalo and other points on the lake, as occasion required. In 1815 Mr. Johnson commenced the schooner *Neptune*, of sixty-five tons burthen, and she was launched in the spring following. Her first trip was to Buffalo, and she was afterwards engaged in the fur trade in the employ of the American Fur company. The *Prudence* was built in 1821 by Philo Taylor, and in 1826 John Blair constructed the *Macedonian*, and Captain Burtiss, the *Lake Serpent*.

It was in 1818 that the people of Cleveland for the first time saw a steam vessel come to an anchor in their harbor. It was the famous, picturesque and somewhat oddly constructed *Walk-in-the-Water*—so named after an Indian chief—which excited more wonder in its time than did the *Great Eastern* in later days. Its visit here was made on September 1, on its way from Buffalo to Detroit, and under command of Captain Fish. It was three hundred tons burthen, could travel a steady eight or ten miles an hour and accommodate one hundred cabin and a large number of steerage passengers. The people of Cleveland saluted her with a round of artillery, and several prominent citizens continued with her to Detroit. Her adventures and final fate are related in detail below. In 1824 the first steamship ever built at this port was constructed by Levi Johnson in partnership with the Turhoooven brothers. It was called the *Enterprise*, and was about two hundred and twenty tons. Its

engine was of from sixty to seventy horse-power, and was built in Pittsburgh. Mr. Johnson himself commanded her, running between Buffalo and Detroit. When hard times struck the vessel interests in 1828, he sold her and retired from the lakes. He aided in the building of only one more vessel, the *Commodore*, which was constructed on the Chagrin river in 1830. From that date on the building of lake craft was continued by various parties as the business of the port required. In 1835 there was a surprising activity along the lake front, there being a great rush of people to the west. Cleveland at that time had a population of 5,080, and was daily receiving additions. "Steamers ran from Buffalo to Detroit," says a local chronicler, "crowded with passengers, at a fare of eight dollars, the number on board of what would now be called small boats, reaching from five to six hundred persons. The line hired steamers, and fined them a hundred dollars if the round trip was not made in eight days. The slower boats, not being able to make that time with any certainty, frequently stopped at Cleveland, discharged their passengers and put back to Buffalo. It sometimes chanced that the shore accommodations were insufficient for the great crowd of emigrants stopping over at this port, and the steamers were hired to lie off the port all night that the passengers might have sleeping accommodations." In the following year, 1836, from March 15 to November 28, the number of vessels of various kinds arriving at this port was nineteen hundred and one, which is an immense gain since 1818, when *Walk-in-the-Water* paid her first visit here.

In 1853 the vessel building interest took a new start, and made rapid and wonderful progress. In 1856 a total of thirty-seven craft was reported, having a tonnage of nearly sixteen thousand. The industry has not only held its own from that day to this, but has grown into a great and remarkable place in the commercial development of Cleveland. Between 1849 and 1869 nearly five hundred vessels of all kinds for lake navigation were built in the district of Cuyahoga, nearly all of which were the production of Cleveland yards. The size to which the lake business of Cleveland has grown is shown by the records of the board of trade, which gives the total tonnage registered in 1884 as 84,295 tons.

A glance at the most prominent shipyards cannot but be of interest here. In 1835 Seth W. Johnson opened a yard, at first confining himself to the repairing of vessels. He soon turned his attention to building, and the steamboat *Constellation* and the *Robert Fulton* are among the first of his works. The firm was increased in 1844 by the addition of

Mr. Tisdale, and its name changed to Johnson & Tisdale. This co-partnership lasted nineteen years. The firm of Quayle & Moses built a number of vessels, when Mr. Moses retired and Mr. John Martin took his place, the firm living for a long time in local history as Quayle & Martin. From the time of this organization up to 1869, they had built fully seventy-five vessels, and in one year they turned out thirteen. Elilil M. Peck opened a yard here, his first work being the *Jenny Lind*, of two hundred tons. He formed a partnership in 1855 with I. U. Masters, under the name of Peck & Masters, which existed until 1864. Over fifty vessels were launched by them, and after the firm's dissolution Mr. Peck carried on the business alone. He built the revenue cutters *John Sherman* and *A. P. Fessenden*, which were accepted by the government promptly and put in commission on the lakes. He also constructed a number of other vessels, the greater part of them being of large size. Captain Alva Bradley has built many vessels in Cleveland, and an extended notice of his labors in that direction will be found in another part of this article.

The *Herald* in September, 1865, in speaking of the city's growth and resources, said :

Cleveland now stands confessedly at the head of all places on the chain of lakes as a ship building port. Her proximity to the forests of Michigan and Canada affords opportunity for the selection of the choicest timber, while the superior materials and construction of the iron manufacturers of the city give an advantage. Cleveland has the monopoly of propeller building, its steam tugs are the finest on the lakes, whilst Cleveland-built sailing vessels, not only out-number all other vessels on the chain of lakes, but are found on the Atlantic coast, in English waters, up the Mediterranean, and in the Baltic.

SECURING A HARBOR.

The old route by which vessels entered Cleveland, *via* what we now call "the old river bed," was uncertain because of the bars of sand which would rapidly accumulate at the mouth of the Cuyahoga. The people of Cleveland began to agitate an improvement, and naturally looked to the general government for relief. Their appeal was not in vain, and in 1824-5 congress granted \$5,000 for the construction of a harbor at Cleveland. This sum was expended in building a pier six hundred feet into the lake, nearly at right angles with the shore, and beginning forty rods east of the east bank of the river at its mouth. This brought no relief, as the sand filled in as rapidly as before. Congress was persuaded to appropriate an additional ten thousand dollars, and in 1827 Major T. W. Maurice, of the United States engineer corps, prepared a plan for permanent relief, which the government adopted. It was nothing less than the opening of a new

and more direct channel, at a point where the bend of the river carried it near to the lake shore. A dam was built across the river opposite the south end of the experimental pier from which so much had been expected and so little come. When the fall rains came, the river rose, men with spades and teams with scrapers were engaged in abundance, and a trench dug across the isthmus from the river to the lake. With the first break into the new outlet, the force of the water itself came into play, and the work was practically done. The next spring saw the commencement of the eastern pier. Eventually both piers were carried back to the river and were also extended into the lake, congress making successive appropriations for the work. By 1840 over seventy-five thousand dollars had been used in this work, but a good harbor had been secured: The mouth of the old river bed gradually filled up, and the bed itself used as a place of anchorage and wharfage.

THE HARBOR OF REFUGE.

Without reference to the previous attempts that came to naught, suffice it to say that on the sixteenth of January, 1873, Mr. R. T. Lyon offered certain resolutions to the board of trade urging upon congress the importance and necessity of a harbor of refuge at this port for the protection of vessels navigating the uncertain waters of Lake Erie. The resolutions were adopted, and a committee appointed to confer with the city council and secure its coöperation. Hon. R. C. Parsons, then the member of congress from this district, persuaded the government to a survey of the harbor, which work was done in 1874 by Colonel Blunt of the United States engineering corps. He reported two plans—one for an anchorage of thirty acres at a cost of five hundred thousand dollars, and the other for ninety acres at a cost of twelve hundred thousand dollars. In the spring of 1875 congress appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the commencement of the work, and referred the size and other specifications of the harbor to a corps of government engineers, who reported in favor of a harbor of two hundred acres, at a cost of eighteen hundred thousand dollars. This was adopted, and when Hon. H. B. Payne was in congress he secured fifty thousand dollars for a continuation of the work, and Hon. Amos Townsend one hundred thousand. Steps have since been taken toward the extension of the breakwater eastward, and parallel with the shore of the lake east of the mouth of the river, so as to form another harbor of refuge east of the pier.

WRECKS, COLLISIONS AND OTHER DISASTERS.

There may have been collisions between steamships on Lake Erie prior to 1830, but I have come across no account of any. William T. Rexford, an old gentleman who, at the time of his narrative, resided in Mentor, placed on record, some years ago, the collision between the steamers *William Penn* and *Pioneer*, off Dunkirk harbor, on March 22, 1830. Mr. Rexford was a passenger on the *Penn*. The *Pioneer* was bound up the lake and the *Penn* down. The vessels struck at two o'clock on Sunday morning, and the blame lay in the *Pioneer's* failing to observe the rules of lake navigation. It undertook to make the harbor by crossing the course of the *Penn*, contrary to the custom, which was, when lights were observed, to turn to the right, the *Penn* following the usual course. "The mistake was not seen until too late to avoid the collision. In order to prevent a midship collision, which was otherwise inevitable, the *Pioneer* struck the *Penn* aft of the wheelhouse and raked her to the stern." Two men were lost on the *Penn*, a porter and a waiter.

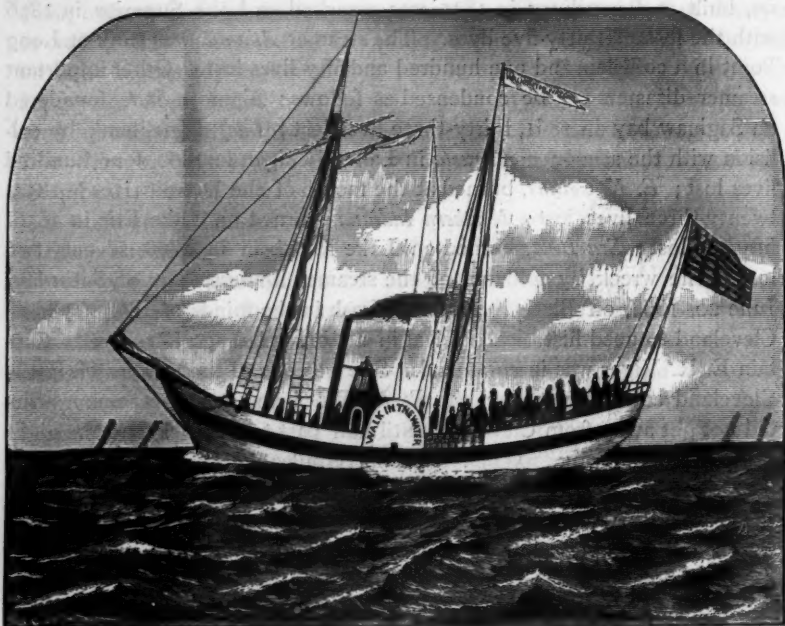
It is universal testimony that the ancient ship *Griffin* of La Salle, after discharging her cargo at Mackinaw, started on a return trip to Niagara river and was never heard of again. It has been stated that her crew was saved, which does not seem to have been the fact, but in any case the ship was lost. This is the first known disaster on the great lakes. I have already referred to the loss of the *Good Intent* in 1805, the *Beaver* in 1786, and of other pioneer vessels of Lake Erie. The full story of destruction caused by storms, fire and poor harborage would fill a volume, and I can only touch on a point here and there of general interest. The schooner *General Tracy* was built at Detroit in 1800. She was lost on Fort Erie reef in 1809. *Walk-in-the-Water* was wrecked in 1821. The steamer *Pioneer* went to pieces in Lake Superior in 1834. The *William Penn*, built in 1826 at Erie, was wrecked, but I have been unable to discover the date or place. The steamer *William Peacock*, built at Barcelona in 1829, exploded her boiler and killed fifteen persons on Lake Erie in 1830. The steamer *Ohio*, built at Sandusky in 1830, burned at Toledo in 1842. The steamer *Washington*, built at Huron in 1833, was wrecked on Long Point on her first trip. The steamer *Daniel Webster*, built at Black Rock in 1833, was burned two years later in Buffalo, but rebuilt. The *Detroit*, built at Toledo in 1833, was wrecked on Lake Michigan in 1836. The steamer *Commodore Perry*, built at Perrysburgh in 1834, was blown up a year later and killed six people. The steamer *Minnisetunk*,

built at Goderich, Canada, in 1834, was sunk by the steamer *Erie*, near Malden, in 1839. Among other steamers wrecked prior to 1850, can be mentioned the *Robert Fulton*, *Columbus*, *Chicago*, *W. F. P. Taylor*, *Julia Palmer*, *Don Quixote*, and probably others of which no record is at hand. The advent of propellers on Lake Erie occurred in 1842, when the *Vandalia*, built at Oswego, made her appearance. The first record of disaster to craft of this character that I can find, was when the *Goliath* was burned on Lake Huron and eighteen lives lost, in 1848. The *Henry Clay*, with a cargo of flour, rolled over in Lake Erie in 1851. The *Vandalia* was sunk by collision with the steamer *Fashion* in Lake Erie in the same year. The *Oswego*, built at Oswego in 1842, was sunk by collision with the steamboat *America*, in Lake Erie, in 1852.

A number of the lake wrecks have been attended by an appalling loss of life. The steamer *Erie*, built at Erie in 1837 and running between Buffalo and Chicago, was burned off Silver creek in 1841 and two hundred and fifty lives lost. The steamer *Washington*, built at Ashtabula in 1838, was also burned off Silver creek in the year of her building, and sixty lives lost. The *Indian Queen*, built at Buffalo in 1844, was wrecked at Dunkirk two years later, with a loss of twenty lives. On the twenty-fourth of September, 1856, the steamer *Niagara* of the Collinwood line, took fire four miles off Port Washington, in Lake Michigan and twenty miles above Milwaukee. She burned to the water's edge and sunk. The steamer *Traveler* and propeller *Illinois*, with several sailing vessels, came to the rescue but despite their efforts some sixty were lost, among them being the Hon. J. B. Macy of Wisconsin. Captain F. Miller was saved. The water was so cold that many were benumbed and drowned who otherwise might have been saved. The loss on the vessel and cargo was \$75,000. The steamer *G. P. Griffith*, of 587 tons, was built at Buffalo in 1845, and burned on Lake Erie, off the Chagrin river and almost in sight of Cleveland, in 1850. Two hundred and fifty lives were lost. Mr. J. F. Card of this city, who was then in business in Fairport, tells me that he vividly remembers the event and the great excitement it caused. The vessel was on its way to Cleveland and stopped at Fairport to unload some goods consigned to him. That was at one or two o'clock at night. Smoke was scented at the time, but no signs of fire anywhere on the boat could be noticed. It proceeded on its way, and was some twelve or thirteen miles beyond Fairport when the fire was beyond control. The ship was headed for the shore, and it was the panic and not the fire that caused the terrible

loss of life. The passengers all rushed for the front part of the boat and so loaded it down that it could not pass over the bar, which it might have done had the load been evenly divided. The people crowded over each other when it struck, and soon there was a living mass struggling in the water, in which even good swimmers had no chance. The steamer *Superior*, built at Perrysburg in 1845, was wrecked on Lake Superior in 1856 with the loss of thirty-five lives. The steamer *Atlantic* was sunk at Long Point in a collision, and one hundred and fifty lives lost. Other important steamer disasters can be condensed as follows: *Keystone State*, foundered on Saginaw bay in 1861, thirty-three lives lost; *Lady Elgin*, sunk by collision with the schooner *Augusta* in Lake Michigan in 1860, four hundred lives lost; *E. K. Collins*, burned at the mouth of the Detroit river in 1854, twenty-three lives lost; *Northern Indiana*, burned on Lake Erie in 1856, fifty-six lost; *Sea Bird*, burned on Lake Michigan in 1868, seventy-two lost. The wreck by collision of the steamer *Morning Star* on Saturday, June 20, 1868, off Black river, is too fresh in the minds of the people of Cleveland to need historical revival in an extended account here. Captain E. R. Viger was in command. She was one of the two vessels in the Cleveland and Detroit line, the *R. N. Rice* being her companion. She did not get away from Cleveland until half past ten o'clock, and the night was dark and stormy. When some thirty miles out she collided with the bark *Cortland*, with full force. She began to sink immediately. Some of the crew and passengers saved themselves by clinging to floating pieces of wreck, and were picked up by the *Rice*, which came along two hours later. Captain Viger and thirteen others floated off on a portion of the upper cabin and were saved, but over a score of lives were lost. The vessel was built at Trenton, by Alvin Turner, in 1862, and was valued at \$150,000. Of the great disasters caused by the loss of propellers prior to 1870, the following is a summary: the *Oregon* exploded at the head of Detroit river in 1855, seventeen lives lost; the *J. W. Brooks* foundered on Lake Ontario in 1856; twenty-two lost; the *Phoenix* burned on Lake Michigan in 1856, one hundred and ninety lost; the *Toledo* foundered at anchor off Port Washington in the same year, forty-two lost; the *Troy* foundered on Lake Huron in 1859, twenty-three lost; the *Dacota*, wrecked at Sturgeon Point, Lake Erie in 1860, thirty-five lost; the *Jersey City*, on Long Point, in the same storm, nineteen lost; the *Bay State*, sunk in Lake Ontario in 1862, twenty-two lost; the *Water Witch*, lost in Lake Huron in 1863, twenty lost; the *Pewabic*, sunk in Lake Huron by a col-

lision with the propeller *Meteor* in 1867, one hundred lives lost; the *Wisconsin*, burned in Lake Ontario in 1867, fifty lost. There are perhaps errors in the above, and probably important omissions have been made, but I have tried to avoid both as far as discoverable information would allow.



WALK-IN-THE-WATER.

I have mentioned the first appearance of this wonderful but short-lived craft in Cleveland harbor in another portion of this article. Mr. E. D. Howe, the venerable editor, in an article published in 1859 in the *Painesville Press and Advertiser*, relates his personal adventures aboard of her, and gives an outline of her history, as follows:

On the fourth day of July (or thereabouts) in the year 1818, I saw the said boat slide from her ways into the Niagara river, two miles below Buffalo, at the village of Black Rock. She was landed beam foremost or sideways, and brought up within twenty feet of the shore. She was finished and made three or four trips to Detroit the same season. The next year, 1819, I was a passenger on said boat to Cleveland on her first trip up. She was commanded by Captain Job Fish, and a rough and rickety thing she was. The harbors on Lake Erie at that time could only be entered by small open boats, and in consequence of a heavy wind we lay in the lake off Cleveland three days and three nights without

effecting a landing. I find further in regard to this wonderful boat, in the Cleveland *Herald*, of which I was one of the publishers, under date of May 4, 1820, the following editorial article: "The steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water* arrived in this port on Sunday last from Buffalo, being her first trip this season. She left that place at nine o'clock on Saturday morning last, and arrived here the next day at two o'clock P. M. This is the shortest passage we believe she has ever made, being about two hundred miles in twenty-nine hours."

The Cleveland *Register*, under date of November 3, 1818, commends the boat in the following terms:

The steamer left Buffalo for Detroit on the 10th ult., having on board one hundred passengers. The facility with which she moves over our lakes warrants us in saying she will be of utility not only to the proprietors but to the public. She affords to us a safe, sure and speedy conveyance of all our surplus products to distant markets. She works as well in a storm as any vessel on the lakes, and answers the most daring expectations of the proprietor.

Captain Fish is said to have been an eastern man, probably well acquainted with eastern waters and perhaps even with the stormy billows of the Atlantic, but he did not seem to shine on the then harborless and always uncertain waters of Erie. I find a charge made on what seems to be good authority, that he resigned command on the occasion of his first severe gale, on his third or fourth trip. The boat was turned over to John Davis, the mate, and Captain Jedediah Rogers afterwards had control of her for some time. A writer in the *Traveler*, under date of 1858, says that after *Walk-in-the-Water* was launched she was moving up Niagara river en route to Cleveland, when she struck "some minor rapids, the ascent of which is almost unnoticed by the powerful steamers of the present day." These were serious objects to her, and the captain tried for several hours to put her past them, but did not succeed. "Defeated in this," says the *Traveler*, "he went on shore and, after beating up the thinly inhabited country, collected twenty yoke of oxen and attached them to a line fixed to the stern of his vessel, and using the utmost force of the steam at the same time he was hauled through the opposing element in triumph." No wonder Captain Fish resigned.

In a sketch of the life of the late Orlando Cutter, one of the pioneers of Cleveland, is found an incident connected with the steamer's wreck. He was east in the fall of 1821, and on his return decided to exchange his former schooner experiences for an experiment with steam. In company with two friends, George Williams and John S. Strong, and some seventy other passengers, he went aboard at Black Rock in the afternoon. The oxen were again called into requisition to get them over the rapids, and they proceeded out into the open lake. In the night a furious gale arose, and Captain Miller, who was then in command, put back but was not

able to get into Buffalo creek. He came to anchor near its mouth. Mr. Cutter, who was very seasick, lay in his cabin below, little caring for any further experiments with steam. Towards morning the anchor gave way, and old *Walk-in-the-Water* ended her usefulness, and walked in the water no more, by going ashore sideways. She lay on an easy sand beach, and passengers and crew got ashore without loss of life. The Mr. Williams referred to above is none other than George Williams who is now living in this city, in a venerable old age, and whose mind is still as clear as a bell touching the olden days. As he is probably the only person now living who went ashore in that wreck, I sought him out and obtained from his own lips the following graphic account of his experience therein:

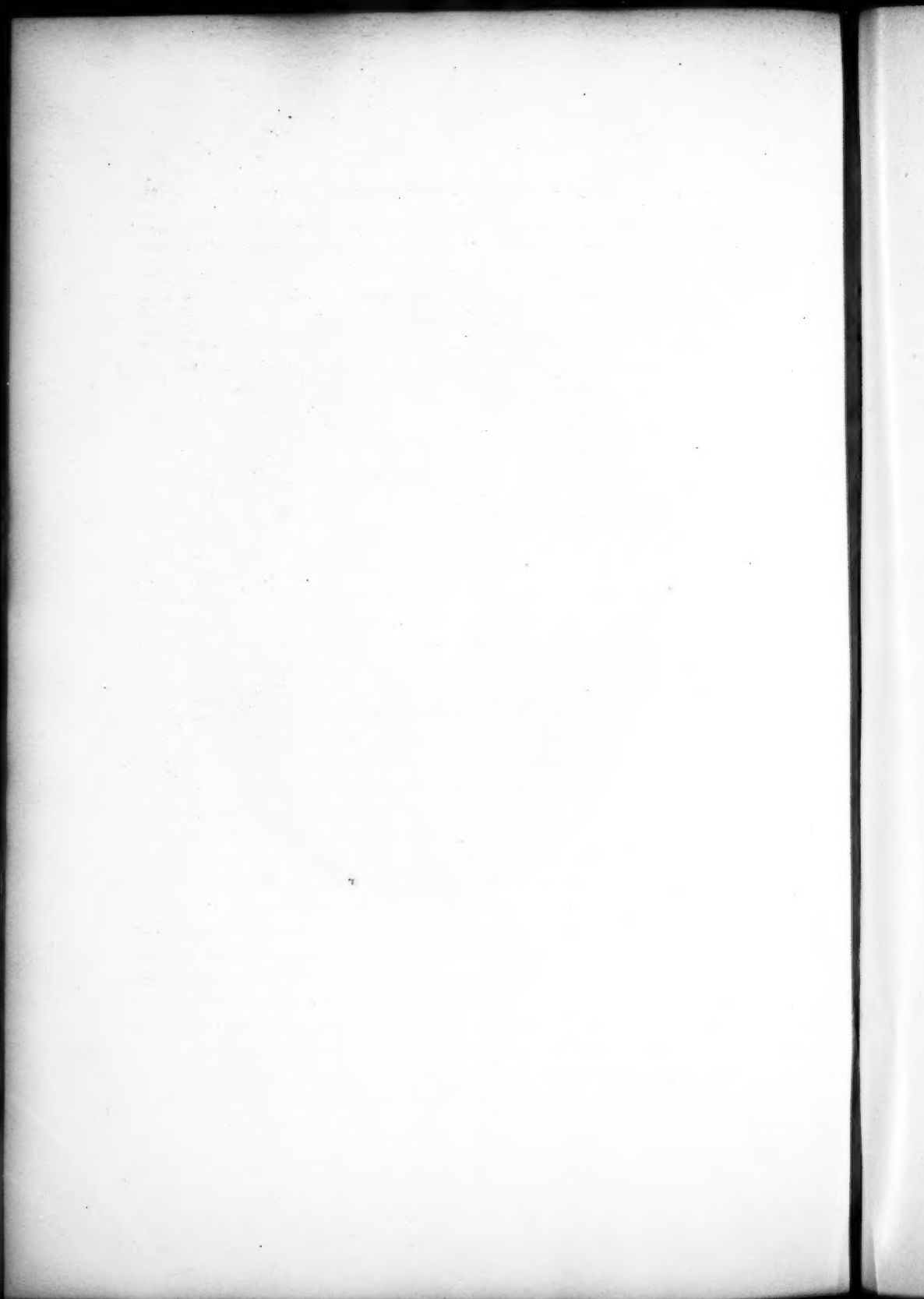
The *Walk-in-the-Water* on that last voyage left Black Rock in the afternoon of a dull, cloudy day. She was towed to the lake by oxen traveling along the beach, the strength of her engine not being sufficient to stem the current of the Niagara. As she cast off her tow-line and moved, unaided into the broad waters of Lake Erie there was no anticipation of the terrible gale we were soon to encounter. The boat had a full complement of passengers, and a full cargo of goods, mostly for western merchants, one of whom, Mr. Palmer of Detroit, was on board with his bride. There was also a company of missionaries several of whom were ladies, on their way to some western Indian tribe. As the winds rose, friends grouped themselves together, and as the storm grew more and more furious there was great terror among them. The young bride was frantic, shrieking and calling on her husband. The missionaries, sang hymns and devoted themselves to soothing the terrified. There was a Mr. Strong on board, a cattle dealer and farmer, after whom Strongsville, near Cleveland, was named. He had in his saddlebags the proceeds of a drove of cattle just sold at the east. Through the night and during the height of the storm he lay in a berth near the companion way, his saddlebags under his head. When asked how he could lie there so quietly, nonchalantly replied, if he was to be drowned he might as well be drowned there as anywhere. We lay tossed of the tempest, the big seas sweeping over us all the long night. Just as the first gleam of daylight appeared our anchor began to drag. Captain Miller seeing the impossibility of saving the steamer, ordered her beached. With skilled seamanship she was sent broadside on. A rope was stretched from boat to beach, and the passengers were ferried to shore in the small boat. They reached it drenched and exhausted, but all saved. Yes, of all on board then I suppose I am the only one now living.

THE BRADLEY FLEET.

Captain Alva Bradley occupies no uncertain or insignificant place in the marine history of Lake Erie, and from the vessels he has sailed, and the vessels he has built for others to sail, he has perhaps been the most active and prominent figure found on the chain of lakes during the half century past. He has made a remarkable record, and the wealth he has amassed has been the result of his own industry, courage and shrewd business sense. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that he, also, is of New England descent, as the great "Mother of the Western Reserve" sent her best and ablest children to this corner of the far west, to make it blossom like the rose, and to create a state the third only of all the



A. Bradley



Union. Captain Bradley was born in Ellington, Tolland county, Connecticut, on November 27, 1814. When the youngster had reached his ninth year, the father sold his farm, and, taking his family, set out for the west. To Albany by wagon, thence by canal packet to within fifty miles of Buffalo, and from Buffalo on to Cleveland by schooner. Captain Bradley tells me that they were not able in those days to sail into the harbor, but were taken ashore in small boats; and he smiled and shook his head when I asked him if any vision came to him then of his own stately fleet that in later years should carry millions and millions of dollars worth of goods in and out of the river entrance that had not then been dug. Cleveland was not the point of destination the elder Bradley had in mind, as he pushed on to Brownhelm, Lorain county, where he purchased or located a farm and went sturdily to work. The son labored beside him for ten years, and then, yielding to a long held desire for a sailor's life, he went down one day to Huron and secured a place on the schooner *Liberty*. He was with her two years in her trading expeditions up and down the lakes, and I asked him, when in search of some points of this information, "Do you know what finally became of her?" and he said he had often wondered but did not know. He next sailed on the *Young Leopard*, the *Edward Bancroft* and the *Express* in succession, and in 1839 found himself master of the *Commodore Lawrence*. He sailed her for two seasons, and did so well that he felt justified in a venture of his own. In 1841 he and Ahira Cobb built the schooner *South America* of 104 tons. Captain Bradley personally sailed her three seasons, when she was sold. Their record of ship building ran up rapidly in the next few years. In 1844 they built the *Bingham* of 135 tons; in 1848, the *Ellington* of 185 tons; in 1849, the propeller *Indiana* of 350 tons. This vessel was put on the line between Buffalo and Chicago. In 1852 they turned out the schooner *Oregon* of 190 tons. All these were commanded in turn by Captain Bradley himself, extending over a period of fifteen years. One can imagine how many miles of water he passed over in that time, how many lives and how much property were entrusted to his care, how many perils he was called upon to face. In 1852 he retired from active lake service and settled at Vermillion, where he gave his attention to his fleet already afloat, and to building additions thereto. Here is a summary of his record in the latter line for several years:

YEARS.	TONS.
1853. The Challenge.....	238
1854. The Bay City.....	190

YEARS.		TONS.
1855.	The C. C. Griswold.....	359
1856.	The Queen City.....	368
1856.	The Wellington.....	300
1858.	The Exchange.....	390
1861.	The S. H. Kimball.....	418
1863.	The Wagstaff.....	412
1864.	The J. F. Card.....	370
1865.	The Escanaba.....	568
1867.	The Negaunee.....	850

The latter vessel cost over fifty thousand dollars. Between 1868 and 1882, in connection with other parties, Captain Bradley built some eighteen vessels, but space will not allow me to particularize further. The Bradley fleet in sail and steam, at the latter mentioned date, comprised thirty-two vessels, and about that number are at present afloat. The captain moved from Vermillion to Cleveland in 1859, but did not bring his shipyard here until 1868. He has in later years possessed interests in iron, real estate, and other lines in Cleveland.

Captain Bradley is still one of the best known men of Cleveland, and can be found at his desk in the Mercantile bank building daily. He is of a genial, pleasant disposition, and can tell many a tale of danger and adventure on shipboard. His chief characteristics are grit and a long-headed shrewdness that have always told him when to invest and shown him where to invest. He has done much for the shipping interests of Lake Erie, and that he has had ample returns therefor is only proper and just. He has the power of attaching men to himself and holding them. Captain Bradley was married in 1851 to Ellen M. Burgess, daughter of John Burgess of Milan, Ohio. The captain was never wrecked, and has never had more than two or three vessels lost among all those he has owned or had an interest in. For the last twenty-seven years he has been his own insurer.

THE WINSLOW FLEET.

No history of the marine interests on this chain of lakes or at this port could touch completion without reference to the Winslows, who have done so much for the advancement of those interests and whose boats have been seen and known in every harbor and at every shipping point for a half century past. The beginning of their great business and extensive fleets was found in Richard Winslow, an honored and useful citizen who made Cleveland his headquarters in an early day, and remained here until his death in 1857. He was born at Falmouth, Maine, September 6, 1769.

In 1812 he removed to North Carolina, where he remained for fourteen years, doing a large commercial business and sending out vessels in the West Indian trade. While living there he made a tour of this then far away northwest, and becoming impressed with the promise of a future held out by Cleveland, decided to make this his home. He accordingly did so in 1831, and purchased at a point on the river where his sagacity rightly told him the chief marine interests would finally locate. Unlike many of the early settlers of Cleveland, Mr. Winslow brought with him ample capital, and was able to make investments of ultimate advantage. He engaged in the mercantile business on Superior street, opposite Union lane, and erected a comfortable home on the southeast corner of the public square. He soon became agent for a line of vessels between Cleveland and Buffalo, and also for an important line of canal boats. In 1833 he became personally and financially interested in the lake marine by building the brig *North Carolina*. In 1836 he was interested in building the famous steamer *Bunker Hill*, which won such attention in her day and was considered one of the forerunners of a great lake passenger business that was to be perpetual, but that the railroads soon ended after they got into full operation. She was of 456 tons, which was considered a remarkable size in those days, and was built in the yards of Black river, where the *North Carolina* and the other Winslow boats were constructed. The *Bunker Hill* was burned about twenty years after her building, at her dock in Tonawanda. Mr. Winslow kept on adding boat after boat, and increasing his business up to his retirement in 1854, when his responsibilities fell on the shoulders of his sons. He died on August 9, 1857, at the ripe age of nearly eighty-eight, admired, respected and regretted by the people among whom he had accomplished so much. From about 1848 his sons, N. C., R. G., H. J. and R. K., their ages in the order named, had been of great aid to him, and after his death the business was continued by them. None of them ever actively sailed on the boats they owned, but they gave all their personal attention to the management and control of the fleets they had afloat. They were active and busy from the first. The business in those days combined the carrying of passengers and freight. Merchandise was brought up from below and produce carried back. They kept on in boat building, and the immense size of their business on these lakes can perhaps be measured when it is known that in all they have owned and controlled from one hundred to one hundred and twenty boats, and that some of these have been among the largest ever

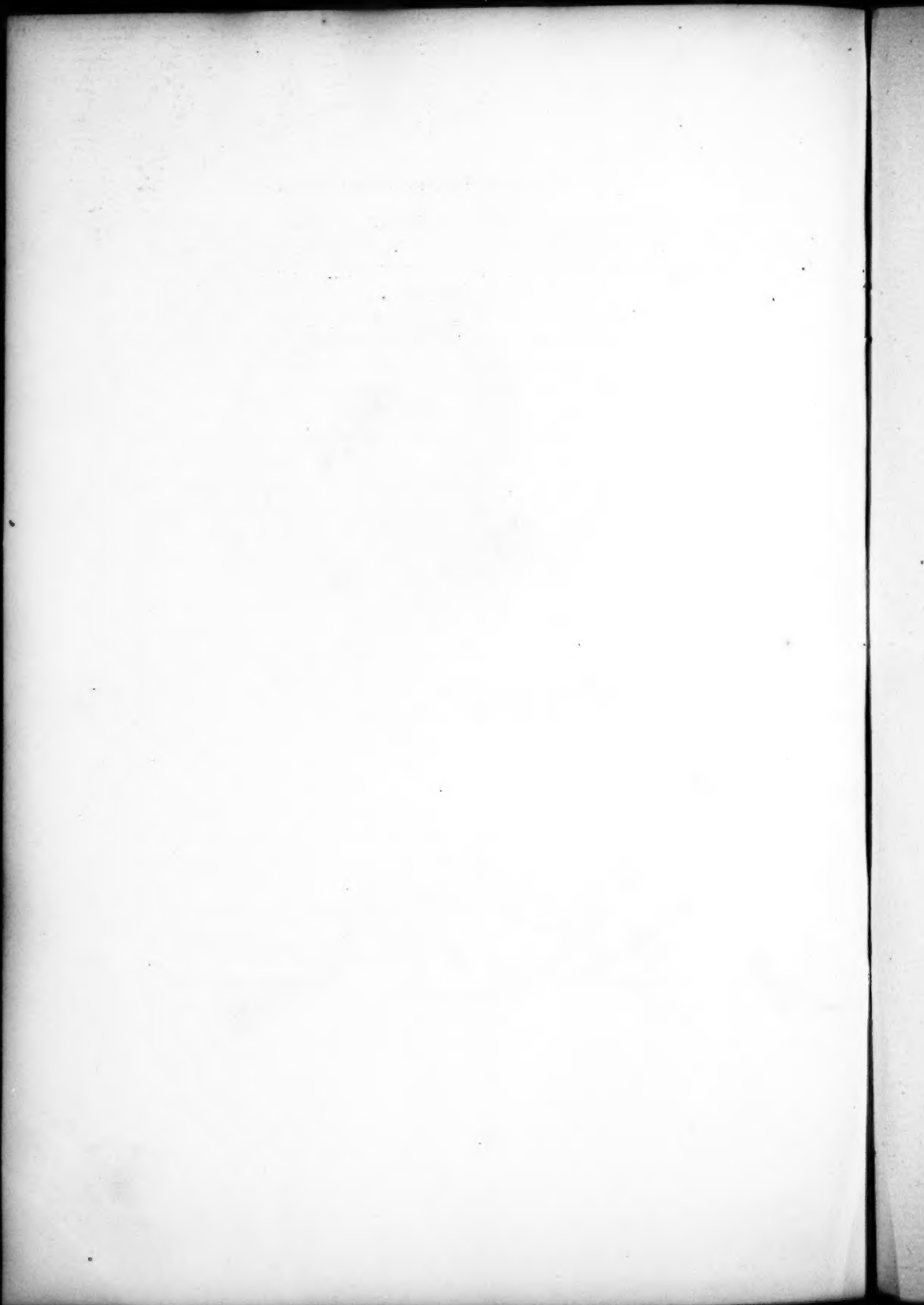
sent afloat. They built the *City of Rome*, of 2,200 tons burden; the *Wocoken*—named after that point of American soil on which Sir Walter Raleigh first landed—of 1,900 tons; the *Cumberland*, of 1,700 tons, and many others of large size if not so great as those named. The building of large vessels commenced in 1855 and 1856, and the passenger traffic in those days was one of the chief features of commercial activity. Vessels were engaged in it that for size, quality and appointments could not be touched by anything in the passenger line now afloat on the lakes. Of the independent boats in this line the Winslows had their share, and those who know their pluck and enterprise do not need to be told that they held their own. When the railroads began to compete with the lakes in the carrying trade, the railroad companies decided to put on steam lines of their own. Eight great boats were built and put on between Cleveland and Buffalo, Buffalo and Detroit, Toledo and Buffalo, etc. They cost an immense sum of money, the *Western Metropolis*, said to be the fastest of all then afloat, costing some two or three hundred thousand dollars. They did a great business, but there was little money in it. When the railroads had passed the experimental stage and obtained connections of their own by land between the various cities on the lake front, the day for these great passenger boats was at an end and the business they represented was destroyed. Destruction or ignoble uses was all that remained to them. Some of them were broken up and their engines sent east, others were used for floating docks, and still others converted into sail vessels or propellers.

In 1858 and '59 the crops in Wisconsin and Illinois failed, and the vessels that had depended thereon had either to lie up or choose a new field of labor. Three of the Winslow boats were fitted out for the European trip of which mention has been made in another part of this article. They were gone three years and came back in 1861, one bringing pig iron and the other two salt. They paid all expenses and some seven hundred dollars over. In 1859 Mr. R. K. Winslow of this city turned his attention to the iron ore trade of Lake Superior, then developing into a business that eventually became one of the greatest of any upon the lakes. He fitted out and built a number of vessels for that trade, and has since been one of the most extensive of the ore carriers. He has also carried an immense amount of grain, and has now many vessels engaged in those two important lines of lake business. He is the last left of the four brothers. Mr. N. C. Winslow, toward a later date, made his home in Buffalo, and died



Western Biogr. Pub. Co.

R. K. Whislow



in Cleveland in 1880. Mr. H. J. Winslow went to New York about 1860, and died in 1883. R. G. Winslow died in 1854. Mr. R. K. Winslow has long been one of the most prominent of the vessel men of the west, not only by the extent of his marine possessions but by his keen business sagacity and his ability to note the signs of the day and tell thereby what steps to take for the future. He has spent a busy life in Cleveland, where he has been useful in many ways. He was born in Ocracoke, North Carolina, and was brought to Cleveland in 1831 on the removal of his father's family. He attended Cleveland academy, and at the age of twenty-one he entered business with his father and brothers and has been devoted to it ever since. In 1851 he was married to Miss Lucy B. Clark, daughter of Dr. W. A. Clark, one of Cleveland's best known physicians. Mr. Winslow has always been of a reserved, retiring disposition, and although patriotic and always devoted to the best interests of the land, has seldom allowed his name to be used in any public connection or in politics. During the war of the rebellion he was an active and liberal supporter of the government. He is of a scientific turn of mind, having a great love for natural science, and especially in the line of ornithology. He has been for many years an active and hard-working member of the Kirtland Academy of Natural Sciences, and in 1869 was elected its president. He is a friend and patron of art in any form, of highly cultivated tastes, and a wide range of reading. Few men who have been as busy in commercial life as has he, have been able to grow in so many other directions. He is a modest and courteous gentleman, and those who know him best, best know his native worth.

SOME MINOR POINTS.

In 1805 Cleveland was made a port of entry. A collection district was established for the south shore of the lake, and called "the district of Erie." John Walworth of Painesville was appointed collector. His first clearance was issued to the schooner *Good Intent*, which, like many good intentions, came to a bad ending. It was built at Presque Isle about 1800, and lost on Long Point, with cargo and crew, in 1805. Mr. Walworth died on September 10, 1812. His successor was Ashabel W. Walworth, who was removed in 1829. Those holding this place before 1860 were as follows: Samuel Starkweather, from 1829 to 1840; George B. Merwin, 1840; William Milford, 1841; Smith Ingelhart, 1845; C. L. Russell, 1849, and Robert Parks, from 1853 to 1860.

In 1830 the government built its first lighthouse in Cleveland, at a cost

of eight thousand dollars. It was erected by Levi Johnson and located on the bluff at the north end of Water street, at a point one hundred and thirty-five feet above the level of the lake. It has since been replaced by a more costly and elegant structure.

Those who hold pronounced opinions against lottery schemes will be more surprised than pleased to learn that an attempt was once made to improve our lake commerce and open Cuyahoga river by means of a lottery; yet such was the fact. In 1807 the legislature authorized the scheme, the purpose being "for opening a line of communication for trading purposes between Lake Erie and the Ohio river, by cleaning out the channels of the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas rivers for the passage of boats and batteaux, a wagon road seven miles long from Old Portage to New Portage making the connection between the two rivers." The promoters of this scheme supposed that twelve thousand dollars would suffice, and the legislature authorized the sale of tickets to that amount. But the drawing never came off, and the money paid in was afterwards refunded.

It was in the year 1816 that an association was formed for the purpose of building a pier out into the open lake. It was incorporated under the name of the "Cleveland Pier company," and among its incorporators were Alonzo Carter, A. W. Walworth, Dr. David Long, Alfred Kelley, Samuel Williamson, Irad Kelley and Levi Johnson. This was an ambitious year for Cleveland, being the one in which the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie was opened, and having among its owners some of the gentlemen named above. Work was commenced on the pier, but it came to nothing. The foundation was a quicksand and the superstructure of wood, and of course the fierce and sudden storms of Lake Erie were too much for its frail strength.

Cleveland's first vessels sent direct to European ports left here in 1858. The barque *D. C. Pierce* was built for Messrs. Pierce and Barney, and sent to Liverpool loaded with staves and black walnut lumber. Some ten vessels followed, having a total tonnage of 3,600. This new trade was a success, and was kept up until the war. Most of the vessels thus sent were sold on the other side of the water and scattered to the four corners of the globe.

The tributes to the difficulties met in entering the mouth of the Cuyahoga in the early days are quite frequent. The venerable Melancthon Barnett said some years ago: "We had no convenient harbor in those

days, and were compelled to unload vessels by means of lighters. I have worked all night many a time to unload vessels, fearing a storm was arising." An old sailor, whose name was not attached to his communication, in writing to a Cleveland paper, said: "While sailing in the schooner *Mercator* in 1822 we could not enter the harbor during the whole summer, although the little hooker only drew three and one-quarter feet." In a letter written in 1843 by Colonel James Hillman of Yungtown to Judge Barr, he relates the following:

The mouth of the Cuyahogas was then (1786) about the same as when I last saw it in 1813. There was a pond of water west of the mouth, which we called Sunfish pond, where we caught sunfish. We carried axes to cut our wood, and I remember we at one time undertook to open the mouth of the river, which was choked with sand. We made wooden shovels and began to dig away the sand until the water ran through, which took away the sand so fast that our party was divided, a portion being left on the east side where Cleveland now is. Caldwell and Elliott had a small sailboat to carry the flour and bacon to Detroit. We used to cross the river by means of the *Mackinaw*, that being the name of the sailboat. By opening the mouth of the river she could sail up to where there was a spring, near where Main street comes to the river.

When the steamboats became a regular thing on the lake, in the days when Cleveland had no railroads, there was naturally much rivalry among the various boats concerning records of speed. I have come across the "log" kept by a passenger aboard one of these boats, during a race that commenced at Cleveland and ended at Buffalo. There were three starters—the *Erie*, the *Cleveland* and the *Buffalo*. It was Monday, September 3, 1839. The following are extracts from his record:

Left Cleveland at 8:15 A. M. At 10:19 we are ten miles out. At 11:25 the *Erie* turns into Fairport. At 12:45 only one lady appears at the table—the rest are sick. 1 P. M. we have yet three holes in the valve gauge not filled, or we have three links to let out. 7:30 P. M. wood running low. 7:55 P. M. scratching up everything that is wood. The fenders and berth bottoms go in. 9:55 P. M. at the dock in Buffalo with wood enough left to sell. We (the *Cleveland*) beat the *Buffalo* thirty-four and a quarter minutes.

Mr. George B. Merwin, who was one of the earliest settlers of Cleveland, published in 1876 a very interesting paper, from which I take the liberty of borrowing the following:

In the winter of 1821-2, my father built a schooner, the *Minerva*, at the foot of Superior street. She was launched March 22, 1822, and was the first vessel enrolled and licensed in the district of Cuyahoga. The chain cable was forged by a blacksmith. In order to test the strength of the chain, it was made fast to a tree and pulled on by twenty-six yoke of oxen. [What would the early shipbuilders have done without the oxen?] It parted after a heavy strain, but was judged by all to be sufficiently strong. On the opening of navigation the *Minerva* was dispatched to Mackinaw, and made the trip there and back in four weeks, which was considered a wonderful achievement. She was commanded for several years by Captain Clifford Belden. Afterwards the steamer *Macedonia* was built on the farm of Samuel Dille, four miles out on the Newburgh road, and was drawn on wheels and launched at the foot of Superior street.

A PROMINENT SHIP-BUILDER.

Reference has been made in the above to the part Thomas Quayle has taken in the ship-building interests of Cleveland, but he has done so much in that line and has been so long in the forefront of active and conscientious work that more than a passing reference is demanded. He was born on the Isle of Man on May 9, 1811, and his parents came to America in 1827. The objective point was Cleveland, and on reaching here the father purchased a farm at Newburgh, where he resided until death. Before leaving his island home the son Thomas had learned the carpenter trade which, of course, included some knowledge of ship building, which must of necessity have been a prominent and important branch of labor in a country where only water-ways led to communication with the great outside world. It is needless to say that he gave to his early labor the industry and close attention which have all through life been among his business characteristics. On reaching Ohio he went into the employ of Mr. Church at Huron. In 1847 he had so advanced that he determined on a venture in his own behalf, and accordingly formed a partnership with John Codey and at once started into the business of ship-building. This connection lasted three years, during which time the firm built the brigs *Caroline* and *Shakespeare* for Charles Richmond of Chicago. In 1849 Mr. Codey, being won by the California gold fever, disposed of his interest in the vessel business and went to the Pacific coast. Mr. Quayle remained on the ground and continued in his chosen profession. In a short time he formed a partnership with Luther Moses, and for the next two years the firm carried on a large and lucrative business, having from six to seven vessels on the stocks at once, and turning out two sets a year. Mr. Quayle left the firm, and in the year afterwards formed a connection with the late John Martin. The new firm was styled Quayle & Martin. The business was then still farther enlarged and extended. In one year their yard turned out thirteen vessels, among others being the barque *W. T. Graves* which carried the largest cargo of any fresh water vessel then afloat. The firm also turned out the propeller *Dean Richmond*. Four first-class vessels were built for Mr. Frank Perew, named the *Mary E. Perew*, *D. P. Dobbin*, *Chandler J. Wells*, and *J. G. Masten*. They also built the tug *J. H. Martin*, intended for their use in the harbor of Erie.

In 1873 the firm of Quayle & Martin dissolved partnership because of Mr. Martin's death, the business being assumed by the senior partner,



Thomas Quayle.

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who admitted his sons, George L. and Thomas E., who had learned their business under their father's able and careful direction. The new firm of Thomas Quayle & Sons stood even higher in the ship-building world than those that had preceded it. The first vessels launched by it were the *E. P. Hale* and the *Sparta*. In the following year they finished and launched the *Commodore*, the largest then afloat on the lakes. During the summer of 1878 they built two propellers for the Anchor line and one for the Western Transportation company of Buffalo, the latter being named the *Buffalo*. These were followed by the *Milwaukee* and *Chicago* of the same line. In 1879 Mr. Quayle, satisfied that he had done his share of labor in the world, retired from the firm and was succeeded by Thomas Quayle's Sons, composed of Thomas E., George L. and William H. Quayle. The new concern has done its share of work, and stands high in the regard of the marine world. Mr. Thomas Quayle is enjoying in the quiet of his home the fruits of his long toil, and in his old age can look back with pleasure over a life in which honesty and industry have gone hand in hand. Vessel men say of him that if he could not build a boat on terms that would enable him to do it well, he would not take the contract at all, and that no cheap or shoddy work was ever turned out of his yard. The result was, that when one of his boats was mentioned, men knew its quality, and nothing more in that line need be said. His usefulness can perhaps be understood from the fact that in his life he has built and set afloat fully one hundred and fifty ships of various kinds. Quayle has gone through life with the idea that a man, to succeed in a business must stick to it, and has allowed no outside affairs to engross his attention. He has shunned public life of all kind, and although he allowed himself to fill a term in the city council in 1860 and 1861, he got out of it as soon as he could and declined to go back. He has at the same time been a patriotic and public spirited citizen, watching all public events with the greatest attention and interest. He was a Whig up to the ending of that party, and has been a devoted Republican ever since. He is a member of the Second Presbyterian church, a Mason, and one of the leading spirits of Mona's Relief society. There are few men in Cleveland who command a wider degree of public confidence and respect than Thomas Quayle, and few who have so well and honestly performed the duties of life—manly and modest, faithful as a husband, father, citizen and employer, and upright and sincere in all his dealings with men.

J. H. KENNEDY.

LAKE ERIE.

I.

Oh, restless Erie,
Never weary
Of thy constant roar ;
From thy mighty, heaving heart
Let the beating waves impart,
Without polish, without art,
What has gone before ;
Oh, tireless Erie,
Answer to my query !

II.

Oh, noble Erie,
I will hear thee ;
Tell thy tale to me ;
Tell me of creation,
Flood and desolation,
Every tribe and nation
That has come to thee ;
Oh, haughty Erie,
Answer to my query !

III.

Oh, ceaseless Erie,
Cold and weary,
Who beheld thy shore ?
What their customs, what their tongue,
What they did and what they sung,
With what voices woodlands rung,
Shall we know no more ?
Silent Erie,
Answer to my query !

IV.

Oh, mighty Erie,
Come, be cheery,
Bring thy memory back ;
Who the builders of the mounds ?
Were these pyres or pleasure grounds ?
Why no more the flint resounds
On the serpent's back ?
Moody Erie,
Answer to my query !

V.

Historic Erie,
Ancient Erie,
Round thy shimmering sands
Red men hunted, fished and fought ;
Chased the deer, and beaver caught ;
Bartered, quarreled, stole and bought,
On thy woody lands ;
Oh, dearest Erie,
Yes, we love but fear thee !

VI.

Oh, royal Erie,
We revere thee,
Keep thy secrets well ;
We will know when earth's life ends,
When the past with future blends,
And the good Creator sends,
All that happened near thee,
Noble loyal Erie !

CHARLES K. BOLTON.

A REVIEW OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF 'McMASTER'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.'*

The second volume of McMaster's work fully bears out the promise of the first. The history is as interesting as Macaulay's, and resembles it in style and manner. Not only in literary excellence but in his vigorous method of treating the various subjects will his book favorably compare with that of the most graphic and interesting English historian. This volume covers most of Washington's, all of Adams' and part of Jefferson's administrations. As an adjunct of the public records the story is told largely from the newspapers, and the different opinions of political events are effectively portrayed by paraphrase and transcript from the partisan prints. "While the newspapers of that day," says the author, "were as powerful in guiding public opinion as in our own, they were a much surer index to the public mind. With the exception of a column of local items, and it may be another which, giving a summary of news for the week, did duty as an editorial, the newspaper was made up of contributions which came directly from the people or were copied from other gazettes." Thus the reader is vividly put right in the place of the Federalist or Republican of the day, and enabled to see things as they saw them. Each side of any mooted question is fairly and effectually presented, and the student of the period has enough of the original material set forth to form for himself an intelligent judgment on the various questions that agitated the public mind. And what is of as much importance to the busy man who reads history, the author either gives positively his own notion or allows plainly to be seen what is his own idea on controverted points. This is the proper way to write history, for the expression of a decided opinion on men and events is what the annalist owes to his readers. He has waded through a mass of material of which he can only give the pith, has had before him a great deal of evidence of which he can only mention the points, and has read many documents and books to which he can but briefly allude. If he be honest, unprejudiced and has an impartial enlightened judgment, his characterization of men and his views of events

* A History of the People of the United States by John Bach McMaster. In five volumes. Vol. II.

are fully as important as the narration of facts and the coloring of his picture. Every man wants to know the history of his own country, but on disputed matters, after having a fair presentation of each side, he wishes the dictum of his author. While it is desirable that Americans should have correct ideas of the issues that divided the country during Washington's administration, it does not follow that they need go through the whole process of forming a right judgment. For all practical purposes a fair-minded and intelligent guide is ample. The fault that he is not positive in his opinions nor free from ambiguity in their expression cannot be found with Mr. McMaster; and while, in the main, one cannot go far wrong in adopting his ideas, it is fairly open to question whether in some instances his language is not more decided than the occasion warrants.

Of this I will cite one example. During Washington's administration, when party spirit ran very high, Hamilton was the great object of attack from his opponents, the Republicans. The Republican speaker of the house had—in connection with another member and James Monroe, then a senator—lighted upon some testimony and got hold of some notes to a Mrs. Reynolds that seemed to show that Hamilton had been engaged in speculations that were entirely unworthy of the secretary of the treasury. In working up these facts, questioning Mr. Reynolds, and listening to the reports of his wife, "these three men," in the words of the author, "began to play a part that would have been shameful in a pimp." However, they presented the memoranda and the notes to Hamilton and asked him to explain. He owned having written the notes, and named that evening as the time when he would tell the whole story. He then informed them that Mrs. Reynolds had been his mistress; that she had admitted the same to her husband; that Reynolds had, on the strength of the connection, demanded hush money; that he had obtained a thousand dollars, which he said would satisfy his injured honor; that he had afterwards demanded more money; had got more, but the demands becoming too frequent and exorbitant, Hamilton had refused to do anything further, and thereupon Reynolds had gone to them for purposes of revenge. This explanation fully satisfied the three men, and the matter remained quiet for five years, when the charges of speculation appeared in print, and, though entreated, Monroe refused to write the few words that would have completely refuted the accusation. To save himself, therefore, from being thought guilty of misdemeanor in high office, Hamilton was forced to confess adultery by putting into print an account of his

whole relations with Mrs. Reynolds. Now, it is true that Monroe and his associates engaged in a low piece of business, when they went to work to bring home this charge against the secretary through the testimony of a disreputable man and woman, but their conduct does not merit being characterized as such "that would have been shameful in a pimp." They certainly acted honorably in the first instance in laying the whole matter before Hamilton, instead of publishing it to the world; even while Monroe is more censurable than the others in allowing later a vile pamphleteer to obtain copies of the documents regarding the scandal, and which he had promised Hamilton should never be put to a mischievous use, he does not deserve the opprobrious comparison. But our author has no love for Monroe. He says of him: "His ability was small, his spirit mean. No sound was more grateful to him than the hollow applause of an ignorant and unthinking mob." This is as unjust in its way as is Parton's sententious characterization of Hamilton: "He took his politics from one side of Dover straits, his morals from the other."

From the adoption of the constitution until the question of slavery became not only a national issue but the all engrossing topic, the administration of Washington is the most important part of our history. It was then that the constitution was first put to a practical test. Its elementary provisions were defined, construed and expounded. In short, the constitution was on trial, and it was of supreme moment that a favorable start should be made. That so good a beginning was had, we owe above all to Washington and Hamilton. They elaborated their own work; for Curtis tells us that to them and Madison is due above all others the successful completion of the labors of the constitutional convention and the adoption of the instrument by the absolutely requisite states of Virginia and New York. It is not only an instructive period for Americans, but it is one of the significant parts of the political history of the world, for then began the successful experiment of the government of a territorial empire by a republican people; then began the solution of the hitherto unsolved problem, how a democracy might form a powerful nation, leaving to its constituent parts their inherent liberties. Leagues and confederations existed in ancient Greece and modern Europe, but never hitherto had there been contrived so complete a union of sovereign states; never before had true federation been realized. And this cannot be too frequently emphasized, as it is the fashion of some writers nowadays to reflect upon the work of our constitutional fathers. Those, how-

ever, who have drank the deepest of the spirit and history of the time have the greatest veneration for what Talleyrand called "the most perfect instrument that was ever devised by the wit of man." It is true indeed that most Americans share this reverence for the constitution and its authors; and nothing can be more desirable than that our citizens should have correct notions and grateful remembrances of the days when the constitution was made and first put in force; for, as Guizot says, "The power of memories is great in rooting and developing institutions."

Following McMaster, then, we must ascribe to Washington and Hamilton the great credit of organizing the national government, and conducting it through the first years of its existence. This period is at once suggestive of the continued conflict between the Federalists, with Hamilton at their head, and the Republicans, under the leadership of Jefferson, the secretary of state. It is satisfactory to know that our author, in the main, agrees with Hildreth that the Federalists were nearer right than their opponents, and that it was fortunate that the ship of state on its first voyage was manned by Federalist officers. And it is true indeed that the historical literature has dealt kindly with Hamilton and his party. Hildreth, manifestly sympathizing keenly with them, has nevertheless given a fairly impartial account of these years, and the school and popular histories have been largely influenced by his work. On the other hand, tradition has been on the side of Jefferson. He was the founder of the Democratic party that has existed, with only one change of name, through all the years of our government. In power and out of power, in defeat and obloquy, it has remained essentially the same party. The Democratic platforms of our day frequently reaffirm the principles of Jefferson, and there has seemed to be a sort of political apostolical succession that has kept alive and vigorous the worship of its founder. It is nevertheless true that Jefferson's title to our gratitude does not arise from his course while he held office under Washington. He was a clog to the administration. Privy to its councils, and not wishing to come out openly in opposition to the President, he gave office to an editor and paid a pamphleteer to attack the measures of the government. His choice as a cabinet officer by Washington was, however, wise, as he was the head of a large party that was entitled to recognition; and, indeed, under other circumstances he would have been a useful man, but his envy and jealousy of Hamilton were such as to make these feelings the crowning influence of almost every act. While the constitution was being framed Jefferson was in

France. He had no hand in its construction, and nothing to do with its ratification by his native state. Indeed, he was at first opposed to its adoption. Nor would his services have likely been of great value in the constitutional convention, for, as Mr. McMaster happily says, he was one of "that great class of men who are dissenters without being revolutionists, and objectionists without being conservative; men who, while they destroy with judgment, cannot build up. Such men were Samuel Adams, John Hancock and Thomas Jefferson. Either Adams or Hancock might, like Jefferson, have written the Declaration of Independence, but neither of the three could have drawn a constitution that would have lived six months." A very different man was Hamilton, who had extraordinary ability, unbounded resources and was fertile in expedients. No difficulty was so great that he could not see its solution; for any desirable end he could devise the ways and means; to effect any cherished purpose he had a ready scheme. Almost all historians have done justice to his capacity, and it is noteworthy that he has received especial praise from our foreign chroniclers, Laboulaye and Von Holst. Mr. McMaster confirms the generally received notion that of all our treasury secretaries Hamilton was the greatest. All of his plans, however, were combatted by the Republicans. With our present ideas, his funding scheme and the proposition to raise needed revenue by a tax on whiskey seem so reasonable that we can hardly comprehend why they should have met with earnest opposition. Hamilton's bank would not to-day meet with favor, for with wealth generally diffused throughout the country as now, we have a better system; but in 1816, when the Republicans were in full power, a bank similar in plan to Hamilton's was chartered, and Hildreth claims, with reason, that there was greater expediency for the bank in 1791 than later. Jefferson's opposition to the bank scheme is thus explained by our author:

Much of Jefferson's dislike to the bill may undoubtedly have been sincere. But by far the larger part sprang from intense hatred of Hamilton. He could not bear to see the greatest place in the cabinet filled by any but himself. It fretted him to think that while Knox (the war secretary) was busy with the petty affairs of a regiment of troops, that while he himself spent hours every day in exchanging notes with the French minister, or listening to the claims of rival inventors, Hamilton was perfecting a financial policy that drew upon him the eyes of the whole continent.

The result of Hamilton's measures was a marvelous improvement in trade, the beginning of the growth of manufacturing industries and a good demand for money. "Yet the sight of this business activity excited in the breast of Jefferson, the stern patriot, only malignant hatred for the man to whose fertile brain and untiring labor it was due."

It is curious to note the extent to which the opposition to Hamilton was carried. In 1792, when his special measures had for some time been in operation, on the assembling of congress the part of the President's speech in relation to the national debt was under consideration by the house. It was felt that measures should be taken for its reduction, and (be it remembered there was then no ways and means committee) a resolution was offered asking the secretary to furnish a plan. This Madison opposed. And here it may be remarked that although he and Hamilton had worked together with the fullest sympathy in the constitutional convention, and had united in writing the Federalist papers expounding the constitution and to influence its adoption by the states, Madison was now, through the influence of Jefferson and the Virginia Republicans, one of the warmest opponents of the secretary. Madison opposed calling for a plan. What the house wanted was information, not a plan. To call on the secretary for a scheme was to shift the responsibility from the representatives of the people to one who is not elected by the people and over whom they had no control. It was further alleged that the secretary's reports were like Adam Smith's 'Treatise on the Wealth of Nations,' and were full of specious arguments "to win the doubtful to his side and to confuse the cautious."

Nor was it only on domestic questions that party spirit raged. "What should the foreign policy of the country be?" was a question disputed with intense bitterness. Europe was in a turmoil. There was revolution and anarchy in France, and she was at war with the other European nations. Mr. McMaster says the Federal party showed a "singular affection for England, and the Republican party exhibited a most infatuated love for France." The Republicans thought that the French had set up a republic like our own. They did not see the difference between the two. Says our author:

The revolution by which we shook off the rule of England was a Saxon revolution, and conducted with the sobriety, with the dignity, with the love of law and order that have ever marked the national uprisings of the Saxon race. The French revolution was a Celtic revolution, and accompanied with the violence, the wanton destruction of property, the wilful waste of life that have ever disgraced movements towards liberty among the Celts.

It was not surprising that during the first years of the outbreak there should have been a strong sympathetic feeling with France. France had assisted the colonies in their war with England, and it is doubtful whether without that help our independence would have been gained. Nor were the first excesses of the Parisian mob without excuse. "The violence

of revolutions," says Macaulay, "is generally proportioned to the degree of mal-administration which has produced them." Aside from the difference in race, it could not have been expected that the French, whose government had been simply execrable, should proceed with the same moderation as the Americans, whose government had certainly been tolerable. The kind fellow-feeling was at first natural and "commendable, but the Republicans carried it too far when they became the apologists and admirers of a succession of men whose shameful deeds make everything else that is monstrous and inhuman in the whole history of the world seem tame"—(McMaster, p. 209). The Republicans, moreover, allowed their feelings to get the better of their judgment. Sympathy was not enough. They wished to give France material assistance in her war with England. They wanted to espouse her cause. They considered it a bounden duty to help her in her time of trouble, as she had helped us. Fortunately Washington was wiser than they. The news of the declaration of war against England by the French republic was received in April, 1793, and shortly after he put forth his proclamation of neutrality, calling on "all good citizens to take no part in aiding or abetting either of the belligerent powers." Washington was neither English nor French. He was American, and had the sagacity to see what is now universally admitted to have been the only correct and prudent course. It was fortunate that the President possessed the confidence and admiration of the majority of his fellow-citizens, for neutrality was at first unpopular, and it required the firm and wise persuasions of a Washington to induce his countrymen to even decently respect his proclamation. For his policy, however, he was roundly abused by the Democratic societies and journals, and chief among the latter was *Freneau's Gazette*, whose editor held an office in the state department and whose articles were unquestionably inspired by Jefferson. Washington, these newspapers said, "was fast debauching the country. He was seeking a crown. He was passing himself off as an honest man"—(McMaster, p. 111). A toast drank at a dinner of a Democratic society of Pennsylvania, was: "George Washington—may he be actuated by Republican principles and remember the spirit of the constitution, or cease to preside over the United States." But the President steadily pursued the course he had marked out, in which he was warmly encouraged by Hamilton. He felt, however, these attacks keenly. "The publications," he wrote on one occasion, "in Freneau's and Bache's papers are outrages on common decency."

But the neutrality proclamation did not remove all danger of foreign complications. British privateers preyed upon American merchantmen, and in this respect, according to McMaster, the French were equally culpable. Nevertheless the depredations of the British came nearer home, and in 1794 war seemed imminent. A proposition was made in the house to seize all money due from citizens of the United States to English subjects, and to hold it as indemnity for losses incurred by American merchant vessels from British privateers. And in this connection our author notes the change in public sentiment that has taken place in regard to such matters. He says:

Had a congressman at the close of the civil war been foolish enough to demand the sequestration of English debts till the damage done our merchants by the Alabama and the Florida, the Sumter and the Shenandoah, was paid to the last cent, he would have been denounced and laughed at over the whole land. In 1794 had a congressman risen in his place and even suggested submitting the matters in dispute to the arbitration of the crowned heads of Europe, he would have been denounced in the house as an aristocrat and monarchist, and execrated by every Democratic society from Maine to the backwoods of Kentucky.

The resolutions embodying this idea were, however, dropped, but it was then proposed that all intercourse with Great Britain should cease until she had paid for the damage done by her privateers. The house was bent on war, but the President was earnest for peace, and he determined to send an envoy-extraordinary to England to negotiate a treaty. He appointed Chief Justice Jay for the mission, who sailed in May, 1794, from New York. The treaty arrived in March, 1795, was ratified by the senate by the strict party vote of twenty to ten. The senate enjoined the members not to allow any copy of the treaty to be made public, but in less than five days thereafter it was published in pamphlet form. The treaty was intensely unpopular on the ground that it was favorable to England and inimical to France, and that it did not secure all the rights to which Americans were entitled. Public meetings were held all over the country denouncing it in unmeasured terms. From the fact that the treaty was ratified by the senate, signed by the President and in the course of seven or eight months approved by the legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, it was probably as good an agreement as could have been made, considering the times and all of the circumstances. But it never satisfied the ardent Republicans. It was said that Jay had been bought with British gold, that the senate had bargained away our blood-bought privileges for less

than a mess of pottage, that the President deserved to be impeached, he ought to be impeached for sending John Jay to London, that Washington was a thief and wore the mask of political hypocrisy like Cæsar and Cromwell. Virginians were especially dissatisfied with the treaty. A resolution offered in their legislature expressing undiminished confidence in Washington was lost, and another disclaiming any imputations on the motives of the President was carried only by a majority of sixteen. So deep and lasting were the feelings engendered by this treaty that over a year later, when Washington issued his farewell address the passage that has become a maxim of our state-craft was especially criticised. "Tis our true policy," wrote the President, "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." This meant, said his detractors, that Washington was so thoroughly English in his sympathies that having made a treaty favorable to England, he now enjoined his countrymen from extending like privileges to France.

Mr. McMaster's characterization of Washington will surely be liked by few, if any, of his readers. He says :

He died in his sixty-eighth year, and in the heyday of his glory and his fame. Time has since dealt gently with his memory, and he has come down to us as the greatest of all leaders and the most immaculate of all men. The outlines of his biography are known to every schoolboy in the land ; yet his true biography is still to be prepared. General Washington is known to us, and President Washington ; but George Washington is an unknown man. When at last he is set before us in his habit as he lived, we shall read less of the cherry tree and more of the man. Naught surely that is heroic will be omitted, but side by side with what is heroic will appear much that is commonplace. We shall behold the great commander repairing defeat with marvellous celerity, healing the dissensions of his officers and calming the passions of his mutinous troops. But we shall also hear his oaths and see him in those terrible outbursts of passion to which Mr. Jefferson has alluded, and one of which Mr. Lear has described. We shall see him refusing to be paid for his services by congress, yet exacting from the family of the poor mason the shilling that was his due. We shall know him as the cold and forbidding character with whom no fellowman ever ventured to live on close and familiar terms. We shall respect and honor him for being, not the greatest of generals, not the wisest of statesmen, not the most saintly of his race, but a man with many human frailties and much common sense, who rose in the fullness of time to be the political deliverer of our country.

This is certainly to "damn with faint praise." Nor is it a true characterization. If it be, all the other historians are wrong, statesmen are incapable of judging of their kind, and the orators who dedicated the monument last February had studied their subject imperfectly or did not know how to estimate human character. If it be true, Bancroft, who says "Washington was the wisest of all men," Hildreth, John Marshall, his fit biographer ; Irving, Lecky, Green and Laboulaye are all mistaken, Webster and Gladstone have spoken falsely, and better had Winthrop's

oration never been delivered. Mr. McMaster's estimate should be written on the title page of Thackeray's 'Virginians,' and while each or any sentence may possibly not be gainsaid, the characterization is unworthy and cynical. Most historians err on the side of hero-worship; some one man secures a high place in their estimation and facts are turned, events are construed and actions colored to make the reality correspond with the ideal. But this volume before us has no hero. Jefferson has no "possible claim to statesmanship;" Madison and Monroe are his tools; and Hamilton, admirable for his ability, is a keen politician and an intense partisan. From this book, indeed, one might think, until he arrived at this estimate of Washington (p. 452), that the Father of his Country was distinguished for extraordinary qualities of mind and temper. In truth, full justice is done him in the narration of the incidents of his administration. His coldness and dignity, his utter lack of magnetic power that so often gains the multitude, and his disdain to use any of the tricks and arts that please the populace, did not prevent him from having the admiration of the great majority of his fellowmen while living, and sincere and universal mourning when dead. The exhibition of violent temper alluded to by Mr. Jefferson was a burst of righteous indignation at the malicious attacks of the press, and goes to show that he did not love power or place and that he only took office from the highest patriotic motives. Jefferson reports that he said: "By God! he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation. He had rather be on his farm than emperor of the world; and yet they were charging him with wanting to be a king." The history of Mr. McMaster manifests the wisdom, foresight and moderation of Washington in trying times; his mistakes, if any, were small, and no other man could have done as well. The more we study the first years of our government, the better idea shall we have of his ability and political prudence, and the more correct notion of his truly great character. Of all men we know of, no one has had more complete success; no one had more fully the love, confidence and homage of his fellow-citizens; of no man could it ever have better been said that "he was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen." And where Washington differed signally from other great men was in that he was not spoiled nor made presumptuous by success; that he stood the crucial test of prosperity and popularity, and that he did not use his deep hold on the people for his own aggrandizement and glorification; or in short, "that he was the greatest of the good and the best of the greatest."

So far our sympathies have been with the Federalists. But when Adams became President, and this party got control of the house as well as the senate, they furnished an example which has since been faithfully followed, that too complete power would prove the ruin of any party. Their downfall has generally been ascribed to the alien and sedition acts, but our historian says these two were not the most odious of the measures passed during their dominion. But the sedition act, directed as it was against seditious speaking and writing, and passed for a party purpose and not for a desire to promote the public good, furnished a very serviceable party cry. The intent of the sedition law was to silence the attacks on the government by the extreme Republican orators and bitterly partisan papers. It was to this end enforced, and most of the obnoxious editors were fined and imprisoned. Two party cries, says our author, have never gone out of fashion, and these two are "freedom of speech and liberty of the press." These were used with telling effect, and eventually brought the Republicans to power. The complete ruin of the Federalist party was the result.

During Adams' administration we have first announced the doctrine of nullification in the Kentucky resolutions drawn by Jefferson, which impels our author to justly term "Jefferson the father of nullification and secession, and Madison his great disciple."

President Adams was not responsible for all of the unwise acts of his party, though, never having any great hold on popular favor, he seems to have been fairer minded than the congressional majority; and Hamilton, too, though not in public life, protested against the passage of the sedition act. It was no great surprise, then, that in the presidential election of 1800 the Republicans carried the day. Then arose a serious complication. By the constitution, as originally adopted, each elector wrote two names on his ballot, without designating which of them was his choice for President, and when the votes were counted the one, having the highest number was declared as having been elected President, and the one having the next highest as vice-president. This worked all right at the first two elections, when every elector voted for Washington. Adams also went through safely under the provision. In 1800 the nominations of the congressional party caucus were Jefferson for President and Burr for vice-president, but every Republican elector voted for both, and they each had, therefore, the same number of votes in the electoral college. This threw the election into the house of representatives, but only the two names

highest in the number of electoral votes were presented for choice; these were, moreover, balloted for by states, each state having one vote. There were two manifestly proper ways of avoiding any trouble. Burr should have declined any support for the higher office, or the Federalists should have every man of them voted for Jefferson. The former was not to have been expected. The Federalists had, however, no chance of electing one of their own party. Of fitness for the position there should have been no question between the two, and the people in choosing the electors and the electors in casting their ballots had intended to manifest their preference for Jefferson. It was a great chance for a party to act patriotically and sagaciously. But the occasion was missed, and the Federalists "attempted from pure political malice to involve the country in a civil war."—(McMaster, p. 516.) As the time prescribed for counting the electoral vote drew near the excitement became intense, and notwithstanding the expense and trouble of the journey crowds flocked to Washington. It was felt on all sides that it was a dangerous crisis. On Wednesday, February 11, 1801, the vice-president, then Jefferson himself, announced that no election had taken place, and that it remained with the house of representatives to decide whether Thomas Jefferson or Aaron Burr should be the next President. The voting soon after began in the house, and on the first ballot eight states supported Jefferson, six Burr, Vermont and Maryland being divided. The balloting continued at intervals until the following Monday, when Jefferson was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot. This was brought about through the influence of Hamilton and Bayard, the one representative from Delaware. It is not, however, creditable to their party that even these two leaders had very hard work to persuade their political associates to effect the result. They at last succeeded, and the Federalist representatives from Delaware, Maryland and Vermont cast blank ballots, Jefferson thus securing ten states.

Jefferson's inaugural address is worthy of note. "I know indeed," he said, "that some honest men fear that a Republican government cannot be strong—that this government is not strong enough. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of law, would fly to the standard of the law and would meet the invasions of the public order as his own private concern." He belived the principles of good government to be equal and exact justice to all men; peace, commerce and an honest friendship with all nations, but entangling alliances with none; state rights, majority

rule, honest elections, a well regulated militia, economy in the expenditure of public money, payment of the debt, diffusion of knowledge, freedom of the press, freedom of the person, and freedom of religious belief. Jefferson's administration during his first term was as successful as his inaugural was sensible. Before he became President his claim on his country's gratitude is that he wrote the Declaration of Independence, founded the patent office, was the prime mover in the establishment of religious liberty in Virginia, and maintained a never ceasing battle for individual rights. But the crowning act of his life was the good bargain he made for Louisiana, although the purchase was something of an assumption of power for a strict constructionist of the constitution. He, however, allowed common sense rather than partisan principles to dictate his course, and he took prompt advantage of a lucky combination of circumstances that might never again have occurred. It will not be out of place to be reminded of what we obtained by this acquisition. In this volume of Mr. McMaster's there is a map that shows clearly how and when the different portions of our magnificent empire were acquired, and from this we see that Louisiana comprised what are now the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, parts of Minnesota and Colorado, nearly all of Kansas, and Montana, Dakota, Wyoming, Nebraska, the Indian and part of Idaho territories. The price paid was fifteen millions of dollars. The Federalists in their turn became strict constructionists and opposed the purchase, as they would not believe that Jefferson could do anything that was right. He was, of course, sustained by his party, and what was of greater importance his hold on the great mass of the people was increased. His administration deserved support, and gradually there was attached to his party many of the less partisan of his opponents. The foundation was then laid of the power that his party so long retained.

In the review of this work attention has been paid only to the political movements of the time. The author, however, treats of other matters than the conduct of the government, the legislation of congress, and the contentions of parties. The growth of commerce and manufactures, the state of trade, the worth of money, the rate of wages, the progress of invention, the mode of traveling, the fare and accommodations at inns, the theatre, songs, amusements and dress of the period and other interesting topics are enlarged upon. Some of the expressions are peculiarly happy as, for instance in speaking of the relaxation in the manner of

keeping the Sabbath in Massachusetts, he says: "Against this impiety, the impiety of the nineteenth century, the tithing-man continued fighting stoutly to the last. He was the rear guard of New England Puritanism, covering it as it slowly retreated into the past." Considering the importance of the epoch and the wide range of subjects treated, the work is as concise as it could well be, and will suggest and imply much to the student that is not distinctively related. The purpose of the author is to bring the history down to 1860 in three more volumes; and if we may judge of what will follow from the two volumes we have had, it will be safe to assert that the work will be the standard history of the time and a fit sequel to the production of our elder historian, Bancroft.

JAMES F. RHODES.

PITTSBURGH—IV.

As the stranger walks through the busy streets of Pittsburgh, and among the countless places where, with fire and steam and the loud noises of ten thousand smiting hammers, active industry is fashioning the earth's most useful metal for the purposes of man, the first thought is that a miracle has been suddenly wrought and all this force and action and other results brought into life by some sudden Titanic stroke of creation. And then there comes the grander and more forceful afterthought that the patient labor, the endless courage, and the hard-learned skill of man have done all this—have built these great structures one by one, have fashioned these mighty engines that lift and hammer and carry hither and thither at word of command, have dug the iron and coal, have built a teeming mart in the wilderness and covered these three fair rivers with countless craft that come and go laden in every hour of the day. This is indeed the true magic by which creation works, and the Titan whose arm has been bared in this labor is that wonderful thing—American industry coupled with American skill. There was a time, not long ago, when only a struggling hamlet lay on this span of land, with the forests about it and nature's green facing the hills that lifted themselves back along the rivers. Old men came here with their capital and skill, and young men came with their courage and their brains. Difficulties stood in the way, the beginnings were small and the risks great, but inch by inch the road was fought over and won, and Pittsburgh became the industrial and commercial giant that it is to-day. Among these men who came in the early days and laid the foundations, some are gone into rest, many have given their labors and responsibilities into younger hands, while others are still directing and laboring with an unquestioned usefulness to the community in which they dwell. In continuing the story of Pittsburgh, it perhaps can be told in no better way than to weave into it the record of some of the men who have done so much to make that history what it is.

JAMES KENNEDY MOORHEAD.

In the early days of 1884 there died at his home in this busy city one of these industrial and business pioneers, who had performed great labors,



Magazine of Western History

Respectfully yours
R. H. H. H. H.

Eng'd by E. G. Williams & Bro NY

accumulated a large fortune, given noble service to the state and country, and has left behind him a name which suggests honor, genius, and the doing of many good deeds. No adequate record of his life has yet appeared, and it is to partly fill that void that the present sketch has been written. It does not do him full justice in many respects, and only a complete history of many of the interests here, and copious quotations from the expressions of those who lived about him, could give an idea of the esteem and love in which he was held. I refer to the late General James Kennedy Moorhead.

He was the oldest son of William Moorhead who came to this country from the north of Ireland in 1798, and settled in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. In 1806 the father removed to a place he had purchased on the Susquehanna river, some miles above Harrisburg. He spent several years here in clearing and cultivating his farm. He was a man of culture and education, and in 1814 he was appointed by President Madison as collector of internal revenue for the district in which he lived. He removed to Harrisburg in 1815, and two years later died, leaving his business affairs in an unsettled condition. When they were straightened up the widow found that although there was enough to discharge each outstanding obligation nothing remained, and that she must face the world with six children to provide for and shelter. In those days she depended much on the aid of her oldest son James, and those who have known him in later years or seen the true gold that lay hidden in the strong and quiet places of his nature, need not be told that he came to her help with unshaken loyalty and a willing and unquestioning devotion that lay far beyond his days. He was eleven years old when his father died, having been born in 1806 in Halifax, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania. He was given but scant book instruction in his early years, but during his two years of residence at the state capital he had such advantages as were there afforded. The mother assumed the management of the farm that her husband had owned at Moorhead's Ferry, as the place was called, leasing it from its new owners, and at the age of fourteen the son had so advanced in knowledge and growth that to his hand fell most of the control and a good share of the labor. He thus early formed the habits of self command and reliance upon his own resources that were among the chief characteristics of his after-life. In accordance with the general rule of those days, it was at last decided that he should learn a trade, and he was apprenticed to a tanner in the Pequap settlement of Lancaster county.

The boy gave his time and thought to his duties with a sturdy honesty, and through his quickness of eye was enabled to discover large thefts on the part of some of the employés which the good old Quaker tanner had never suspected. The result was that the apprentice found himself foreman before the expiration of the time for which he had been indentured. During these years of labor he was busy in preparing his mind for the larger work which he no doubt felt he should be afterwards called upon to do. He read and studied when he could, and by sheer industry and force of character made up for the intellectual loss which the meagre opportunity of his early days had entailed.

In 1828 Mr. Moorhead determined upon a venture on his own account. In company with a brother-in-law he built a tannery at Montgomery's Ferry. But he was not destined to follow the business he had been so long learning. The great machinery of civilization was being set in operation in his neighborhood, and the stir and impulse of the day found an answer in his vigorous nature that seems to have been waiting a wider field of operation. The Susquehanna division of the Pennsylvania canal was projected into his neighborhood, and in connection with William Montgomery, his brother-in-law, Mr. Moorhead took a contract for a small portion of it. When it was finished he decided to remain at the work, which seemed more congenial than any in which he had yet been employed. At the age of twenty-two he was appointed superintendent of the Juniata branch of the canal, and while here he conceived an idea which was worked out with good results to the public and material benefit to himself. The travel from the east to Pittsburgh was then *via* the slow and heavy stage coaches. Mr. Moorhead planned a line of light packet boats on the canal, which should be used exclusively for passengers. Capitalists were interested and the result was the establishment of the Pioneer Packet line, which ran between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and almost immediately became one of the great means of travel between the east and the west. Dickens mentions it in his 'American Notes' and gives a graphic but overdrawn picture of the comforts and discomforts of canal travel in those early days.

The duties which the control of this line laid upon Mr. Moorhead called him to Pittsburgh, which he made his home in 1836. He was soon engaged in other enterprises, and during the forty-eight years of his life in Pittsburgh was one of the busiest of all the busy men within her borders, and one of the most useful in her development and up-building. His most prominent labors in this connection were in the improvement of the

navigation of the Monongahela river—a grand and successful enterprise which all unite in ascribing more to his genius and energy than to any of the other causes that brought it into being. Mr. William Bakewell, the present secretary of the Monongahela Navigation company, in a recent tribute to General Moorhead says :

In the month of December, 1839, General Moorhead, with his brother, J. B. Moorhead, undertook the construction of the first lock and dam on the Monongahela river, and thus commenced his connection with great public improvement, which has been of the utmost benefit not only to the Monongahela valley and the city of Pittsburgh, but also to all the towns and cities located on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. When he entered into this contract, he had, doubtless, little conception of the important results which were to follow his undertaking, or that the success of the enterprise would depend so largely, as it has done, on his energy, skill and perseverance. The Monongahela Navigation company was incorporated in the year 1836, for the purpose of constructing a series of locks and dams on the river, so as to furnish navigation from the Virginia state line to the city of Pittsburgh, and thus afford an outlet to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers for the bituminous coal found in abundance in the hills of the Monongahela valley. The completion of the works thus undertaken by the Moorhead Brothers, together with a second lock and dam located some twelve miles up the river, which was successfully effected in the fall of the year 1841, would probably have terminated the connection of General Moorhead with the Monongahela Navigation company, had it not been that within the short period of two years thereafter the company became financially embarrassed, chiefly owing to the failure of the United States bank, which was one of their stockholders, so that they became unable to keep the work in repair. In July, 1843, a serious breach occurred in the first dam, which deprived the company of the revenue from their improvements. The entire river sweeping through the gap soon deepened and widened the breach until it seemed almost impossible to save the work from destruction. As a consequence, the stock of the company fell to three dollars a share, and utter ruin stared them in the face. Engineering works of such magnitude were then scarcely known, and it became a serious question in the minds of many whether it would be possible to maintain a slackwater improvement against the destructive effects of ice and highwater. It was no wonder that the public confidence in the stability of the works was seriously impaired, and, as the company was almost bankrupt, it required a man to have great confidence in the possibility of engineering skill, and possession of a large public spirit to attempt to rescue the improvement from impending ruin. In this emergency General Moorhead and a few other citizens of Pittsburgh, inspired by the confidence which he always manifested in the ultimate success of the work, undertook not only to repair the breach in the dam, but also to construct a third and fourth lock and dam which would extend the slackwater improvement up the river to Brownsville, a distance of over fifty-five miles from Pittsburgh, taking the bonds and revenues of the company in payment, and agreeing also to liquidate its existing debt.

I would like to give Mr. Bakewell's paper in full, as his story is graphically told, but space will admit of only the leading points. The contract above mentioned was made in November, 1843, and although there was a delay because of freshets, the entire breach in the dam was repaired and the two locks and dams completed in the short period of four months. The result of this venture justified the men who had staked so much on the genius and energy of General Moorhead. The trade on the river increased with great activity and "especially was this the case with the coal business, the annual output of that article having risen from three-fourths of a million of bushels to over nine millions of bushels within the

short period of six years." General Moorhead was universally recognized as the head and front of this enterprise, and it is on record that Henry Clay said to him during his great tour, "I understand, general, that the public are indebted to you for this splendid improvement."

In 1846 General Moorhead was elected president of the company, and held the place until the day of his death in 1884, his successor and the present incumbent being his son, Mr. M. K. Moorhead. During this long term of service he gave such wise care and close attention to its interests that its record has been one of continued prosperity. He was eminently fitted for the charge of such work, and allowed nothing to stand in the way of a proper fulfillment of duty. Says one eminent Pittsburgh gentleman :

If, as frequently occurred, there was any threatened danger to be averted, or any actual damage to be repaired, he recognized the fact that immediate action alone could prevent the recurrence of the disastrous experience of the early years of the improvement ; and he was always ready to meet the emergency. On such occasions he would be personally present by day and night, and if any extraordinary exertion on the part of the workmen was called for, he would not hesitate to lead them even into the water, thus inspiring them with some of his resolute determination to save the work at whatever personal peril or inconvenience.

Long ere the final and assured success of this undertaking, the busy young man had commenced his growth in other directions, and was known as one of the rising men of western Pennsylvania. In 1838 he was offered the important position of adjutant general of the state, but after holding the commission a short time resigned it ; and it was that fact which caused the public to fasten upon him and compel him to carry the title of general, by which he was everywhere known. It fitted his active character so well, and seemed so appropriate to the commanding positions he held, that nothing he could do could shake it off, and he was finally compelled to accept it and hold his peace. He was engaged for several years in an extensive series of building operations in other parts of Pennsylvania, in Kentucky, Ohio, and elsewhere, including locks, dams, bridges, reservoirs, etc., without number. In 1840, in connection with other enterprising men of Pittsburgh, he established the Union cotton factory in Allegheny City. He was made chief manager, and building a house near the factory removed his family there. The business grew, the factory was enlarged and gave promise of a solid life in the future. But the varying fortunes of the time told upon it, and after a long suspension of labor, in 1849 it again resumed operations. Soon afterwards it was burned to the ground, and General Moorhead's house with it. The

insurance was barely sufficient to meet the outstanding obligations, leaving the factory and all it contained a total loss, one-half of which fell on the general. But his determined will and elastic nature could not long bow beneath reverse, and he was soon again on his feet, ready to try a new struggle with fortune. The next year saw him a partner in the Novelty Works of Pittsburgh, and from that time forward he was engaged in many of the industrial and commercial enterprises of Pennsylvania.

When the Morse system of telegraphy was announced to a doubting world, General Moorhead was one of the very first to give it his faith and to discern with far-sighted vision the promise it gave for the future. And as was his course all through life, he was ready to back his faith by his works. It was no mere wordy welcome he gave the suspected and doubted science. He was one of the first men in America to step forward and offer his money in its aid. His courage planted a like spirit in others. Men were found who advanced the funds needed to build two lines, one eastward to Philadelphia and owned by an association called the Atlantic & Ohio Telegraph company, and one west as far as Louisville and owned and operated by the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & Louisville Telegraph company. General Moorhead was president of both of these organizations. "The interest manifested by him," says one chronicler, "in establishing these companies, organizing and improving their administration so as to afford the utmost benefit of telegraphic communication, was an important service to the telegraphic science and to the public. And in this he exhibited his leading characteristic of devoting the time, energy and means with which he was blessed to useful and honorable points that tend to improve the country and advance the interests of the society in which he lived." These two lines were finally merged into and became a part of the Great Western Union combination, and the wisdom and foresight of those who had invested money in the early venture became apparent in the immense returns which this consolidation gave.

General Moorhead's record in a business and industrial way is by no means the only monument of his career. His public services have become a part of our political history, and the results of his labors while in the national congress can be found in many directions. He always was interested in public affairs and political questions, but was never a politician in the modern meaning of the term. He was an open, fearless fighter for what he believed to be the right, and a vehement and outspoken enemy of what he believed to be the wrong. Machine politics never received his

indorsement. I find this just and correct description of his mental and physical make-up when he was in his prime:

When he puts his hand to an enterprise there is spontaneous feeling, wherever he is known, that something is about to be done. When he has once defined his position, no one feels a doubt as to where he may afterwards be found. This sinewy tone of character is well supported by a corresponding physical development. Full six feet high and weighing without corpulence a round two hundred, his bodily strength is very great. In his youth he was passionately fond of athletic sports, and many a feat of wrestling, leaping, running and pitching the bar might be told in proof of his personal prowess. Nature has given him a large share of combativeness, which, however, is tempered with great good-nature. But when he conceives his own rights, or the rights of those he feels bound to protect to be invaded or threatened, no man ever threw himself with a heartier good-will in a contest; and few men are less likely than he to come off second best on such occasions.

In early life he was a Democrat, but was always a strong protectionist. He was present at the birth of the Republican party in Pittsburgh, and, says the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, "deserves no little credit for its wonderful success." In 1858, almost against his desire and wish, he was nominated for congress by the Republicans of his district. Such was his popularity that from the day of his selection very little doubt was entertained of his election. The choice of the party was most cordially ratified by the people at the polls. So satisfactory was his course during his first term that he was sent back for a second, and then for a third. When proposed for the fourth, he declined the nomination in earnest terms, but the people consulted their own interests rather than his wishes, and he was again sent back; and was also prevailed upon to fill a fifth term. At the end of the latter service his declination was couched in such positive terms that it was respected, and he was allowed to retire to a well earned rest. When the fact is borne in mind that his term of service extended over the decade opening in 1859 and closing in 1869, covering the great rebellion and the immediate years leading up to it as well as the season of reconstruction and the legislative troubles connected with it, there is no need of citing detailed facts to show that a patriotic, active and brainy man found enough to do; or that a representative from one of the most important points of supply in the north had many peculiar and pressing duties, in the fulfillment of which he could be of great service to his land. His trained business mind, his thorough knowledge of the material resources of the country, his sound good sense, his honesty and unswerving loyalty to the north, were all freely given in every hour of his service. During three sessions he was chairman of the committee on manufactures, and was also a member of the committee on ways and means, and on naval affairs. During the war the two last named were among the most important in the

whole list. The passage of the Moorhead tariff bill—so called because of its authorship at his hands—showed his position on this question, so vital to western Pennsylvania, and his influence in congress as well. His methods in this public station, as in his business life, were always open and direct. There never was a doubt as to where he stood. He never shuffled, dodged a vote or resorted to any of the underhanded acts so common in some classes of legislation. He usually accomplished what he undertook, and before the end of his first term, began to have a strong personal influence with his colleagues. He never shirked a duty, and during the busy scenes of the war could always be found by any soldier or the friend of any soldier who desired a favor for a boy in blue, and his time and influence were always freely and gladly given. He was on terms of personal friendship with Mr. Lincoln; and Mr. Stanton, who had been a resident of Pittsburgh before the war and General Moorhead's legal adviser, was one of his warmest personal friends. His influence with the war department was therefore very great, and was always used for the good of the soldiers and of their families. Warm-hearted and ready to give a service to a friend or do a favor to any stranger who made demand on his good will, he could be stern and combative when he felt that he had been harmed without cause, or when a reproach had been cast upon his good name or honor. An incident illustrative of this fact is given by Clinton Lloyd, an ex-chief clerk of the national house of representatives. Says he:

A member who, to avoid personalities, may be called Mr. ———, from one of the southern states, was one day in conversation with General Moorhead, at the latter's desk, during a session of the house. They both became somewhat excited, until finally Mr. ——— called the general a liar. He quietly replied: "That remark only serves to confirm the impression I had previously formed of you, that you are an unmitigated blackguard; that is all I have to say to you now, but when the house adjourns I shall have something more to say." Mr. ——— retired to his own side of the chamber, and presently a colleague of his came over to General Moorhead's desk and said: "General, you and Mr. ——— have had some altercation, and he used an expression that he regrets and will apologize if you give him the opportunity." "Yes," said Moorhead, "I know that he will; he's got to." "Well," said the member, "he complains that you gave the first occasion of offence, and under the rules of the code you ought at least to afford the opportunity for an explanation." Moorhead replied: "I said nothing to justify him in using the language he did; and as for your code, I don't know anything about it, nor recognize its rules as binding upon me. I have got a short code of my own, which anybody can understand, and this insult must either be wiped out or taken back. It is this: if a man insults me, he has got to apologize." The apology was made and that prospective duel happily averted.

General Moorhead was chairman of a special committee on armories, which was a fitting recognition of his prompt services in preventing Floyd, the secretary of war, from shipping arms of the Pittsburgh armory to the

south, for the benefit of the rebels. He was not given to public speaking, but when he took the floor he talked sound sense, and always made himself understood in a series of short, sharp statements that went to the heart of the question, and were charged with conviction. Some of his utterances in debate were winged with the light of a bravely spoken truth, and shone with a fervor of loyalty that lighted them to their work. On one occasion he said in the course of a vehement speech: "Sir, this rebellion was a cold-blooded, premeditated, infamous attempt of ambitious, desperate and wicked conspirators to destroy the Union, overthrow free government, establish a sectional one over the southern portion of it, and pave the way for an aristocratic or monarchic form of government through European intrigue." And again: "The man who halts in his fidelity, who quibbles about this technicality or that, who aids the rebels by denying the power of the government to suppress the rebellion, should be despised as an Arnold who would betray his country." And still again: "The Union, plotted against and deemed not worthy of preservation, at once asserted its supremacy over the national heart, and safe from the intrigues of the pliant and expedients of the cowardly, became a national divinity, which from that day to this has called forth the willing homage of every true American heart."

While, as said above, General Moorhead was not a politician he was, as his record so far traced illustrates, a living power in politics. He might have filled many high places had ambition led him to devote his life in that direction. He was postmaster of Pittsburgh during Van Buren's administration. He was mentioned several times in connection with cabinet positions. In 1869 and again in 1880 he was put forward by his friends as a candidate for United States senator. He was chairman of the Republican county committee during the Garfield campaign of 1880, and gave a zealous attention to the Republican cause in that great contest. His last appearance in any public political capacity was in 1882, when he presided over an independent meeting in the memorable Wolfe campaign. After his retirement from congress he was always in demand wherever any public policy was to be worked out or reform accomplished, and the service asked was cheerfully given. In 1878 or 1879 he was chairman of a committee sent to Washington to secure an appropriation for the improvement of Davis island dam in the Ohio river, and the mission met with the most ample success.

In many, very many public ways was his ready influence and aid felt

in the community of which he was a part. He united with the church in 1849, and was ruling elder in the Third Presbyterian church at the time of his death, and was always one of its most generous and active friends and supporters. He was often chosen as a representative in the presbytery and general assembly. He was elected as one of the twenty ruling elders sent to the Pan-Presbyterian convention in Belfast, but was unable to accept the mission. He was president of the board of directors of Allegheny cemetery, chairman of the executive committee of Western Pennsylvania hospital, trustee in the Western University of Pennsylvania, trustee in the Western Theological seminary, president of the Ohio river commission, a member of the board of trustees of the Western Pennsylvania institute for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, trustee in the Peoples' Savings Bank of Pittsburgh, president of the Monongahela Navigation company, president of the association of Loyal Pennsylvanians, president of the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce through years of its most active usefulness, director in a number of banks, insurance companies and other commercial enterprises—and always a leading and potent force in each.

The domestic side of his nature was strong, loyal and loving. On December 17, 1829, he was married to Miss Jane Logan of Lancaster county, and a long life of unclouded confidence and affection was granted them, broken only by her death in 1881. On December 17, 1879, they enjoyed a golden wedding anniversary, making the fifty years through which they had traveled together. Children and grandchildren were gathered about them in happy reunion, and messages of congratulation came in from all quarters of the Union. Says one who knew him well:

Notwithstanding his great business enterprises and political life, which took up a great deal of his time, General Moorhead was a domestic man. He loved to be with his family, and in the frequent gatherings thereof he was the central figure. Out of the family circle he had many warm friends, who were attached to him by the closest ties. He was loved and respected as a consistent Christian, and rarely when in good health did he miss the Sunday service of his church.

Another has said in tribute to his memory:

General Moorhead was one of the bravest spirits that ever lived. He had the courage of his convictions, and never hesitated to give expression to them when occasion demanded, and that, too, in a manner and in tones of voice that precluded answer, and at the same time disarmed resentment. And this prince of men, in true manliness and moral courage, with all the weight of cares that pressed upon him, had the rollicking freshness of a boy, and a quiet sense of humor that nothing ever could suppress. His laugh was good as a feast, and withal he was, like all truly great men, as simple-hearted as a child.

He had the power to say "no," and to say it with emphasis when the occasion required. That he was industrious and honest in all his dealings

with men, shines through the whole life above recorded. "His active mind led him to take an interest in everything that was going on; his superabundant energy led him to want to take part in everything that was being done." The pastor of his church, Rev. E. P. Cowan, has written:

Some may have known him longer, and known him better, but none out of his immediate family have missed him more than I, to whom in my work he was a tower of strength, a constant inspiration, and a perpetual benediction."

His rugged strength of body remained with him until the end was near at hand, and he was one of the few old men who are blessed with a full retention of all their mental faculties up to the very close. Early in 1883 he began for the first time in his life to complain of bodily weakness. A visit to Old Point Comfort gave him no material benefit. In May he started to Saratoga as a delegate to the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, but on reaching Philadelphia he was compelled to return home under medical advice, as his strength was not such as to permit the journey and the labors of the assembly. He remained at home through the summer, taking only an occasional ride or paying a visit to the residence of a friend. On the first Sabbath in November he paid his last visit to the service of his beloved church, which was also the last occasion on which he ever left his home. He nurtured his strength carefully and made a strong effort of will to rally, but without success. He had no fear of death, and when it was announced to him that his days were numbered he peacefully accepted the decision, and put his house in order against his going. He lingered on until the sixth of March, 1884, when he died in the full faith of the religion in which he had so long lived, and confident of the truth of those promises on which he had been so long stayed. He left two sons and three daughters—Max K. Moorhead and William J. Moorhead, two of the best known business men of Pittsburgh, and Mrs. Dr. J. B. Murdoch and Misses Mary E. and Henrietta L. Moorhead.

On the announcement of his death, universal sorrow was felt all through Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. Messages of condolence came in from all directions. His funeral, which occurred on the following Monday, was the occasion of a large concourse, and he was carried to his grave by some of the most honored men of his home city. By special request made by him to his pastor prior to his death, no eulogy was pronounced over him. It was not needed. The honor and respect in which he was

held were shown in many other ways. The feelings of the people as voiced through the press can be shown by the following extract from an editorial published in a leading journal of Pittsburgh :

The death of General James K. Moorhead yesterday removes one of the most prominent figures of Pittsburgh's business circles. Famous as the representative of Pittsburgh in congress during the exciting period from 1859 to 1869, and since then as one of the leading representatives of our capital and industry, his career has been closely identified with the growth and progress of Pittsburgh from a comparatively early period. At an age which surpasses the lives of most men, he was still active in public movements, and even when his physical infirmities furnished an excuse for retirement, was ready to give the benefit of his name and the aid of his advice to the general welfare. The public record of a man who so combined the elements of business activity with political prominence illustrates one of the best characteristics of a great republican nation, and furnishes an encouraging example for the efforts of younger men.

The managers of the Monongahela Navigation company adopted resolutions declaring that, "to the company of which he has been the head for an uninterrupted period of over thirty-seven years and with which he has been actively connected since 1839, the loss thus sustained is irreparable, while to the community at large and especially to the city of Pittsburgh the death of one so universally respected . . . will be felt as a public calamity." The other societies, boards and associations adopted resolutions similar in tone. On March 7, the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce held a memorial session in honor of their dead president. The great business interests, and wealth, and professions of the city were all fully represented. Mr. Reuben Miller presided, and the proceedings were most impressive. Resolutions were adopted that spoke of him as an exemplary citizen, an earnest promoter of public charity and religious influence, as well as one who "in his long career of business activity occupied a leading position in all the enterprises looking toward the promotion of commercial intercourse, the development of our mineral resources, and all the essential elements of a higher civilization." The memorial continued :

The great arteries of transportation and travel developed by the commonwealth in its system of canals occupied General Moorhead in his early manhood, and through life the subject of water transportation claimed him as an earnest and successful advocate, as witnessed in the Monongahela navigation, the improvement of the Ohio river, and the creation of a natural harbor at Pittsburgh by means of the works at Davis island. . . . His associates in the board of directors of the chamber of commerce bear willing witness of the fact that the business of this institution engaged a liberal and loving share of his attention in the past seven years ; that, though entitled to honorable repose, he was most prompt in his attendance at its meetings, and ever ready to undertake severe and fatiguing labors in the interests of the chamber and this section of our state.

In a speech at that meeting, Mr. John F. Dravo spoke of General Moorhead as a true friend, always ready to assist the young ; as a national representative faithful beyond challenge, who gave with a liberal hand

to all charitable objects that commanded his respect, and a man who "never departed from the high line of an irreproachable life." Mr. John H. Ricketson said that he had gone to his grave with his faculties unimpaired "and his mind full of the ripe and garnered wisdom of a hale and hearty old age." Said Mr. George H. Anderson: "He was above the ordinary man, has filled a well rounded life, and goes down to an honored grave."

And there we can well leave him, secure in the love of the people whom he so long served, and honored in memory by the great monuments his industry and genius built all along the pathway of his life. He lies by the side of the three rivers he helped to tame and control for the use of man, and where there rises in the near distance the busy hum of the city he helped to build. His children are proud to bear his name, and turn to his memory with veneration and love. Life was not always easy to him, but his great-hearted and thoughtful care made the pathway smooth beneath the feet of others. He wrought not as one who worked for self alone, but the world was better because humanity numbered him among her sons. He earned—and nobly earned—the long, unbroken rest that follows the strife and warfare of his days.

FELIX R. BRUNOT.

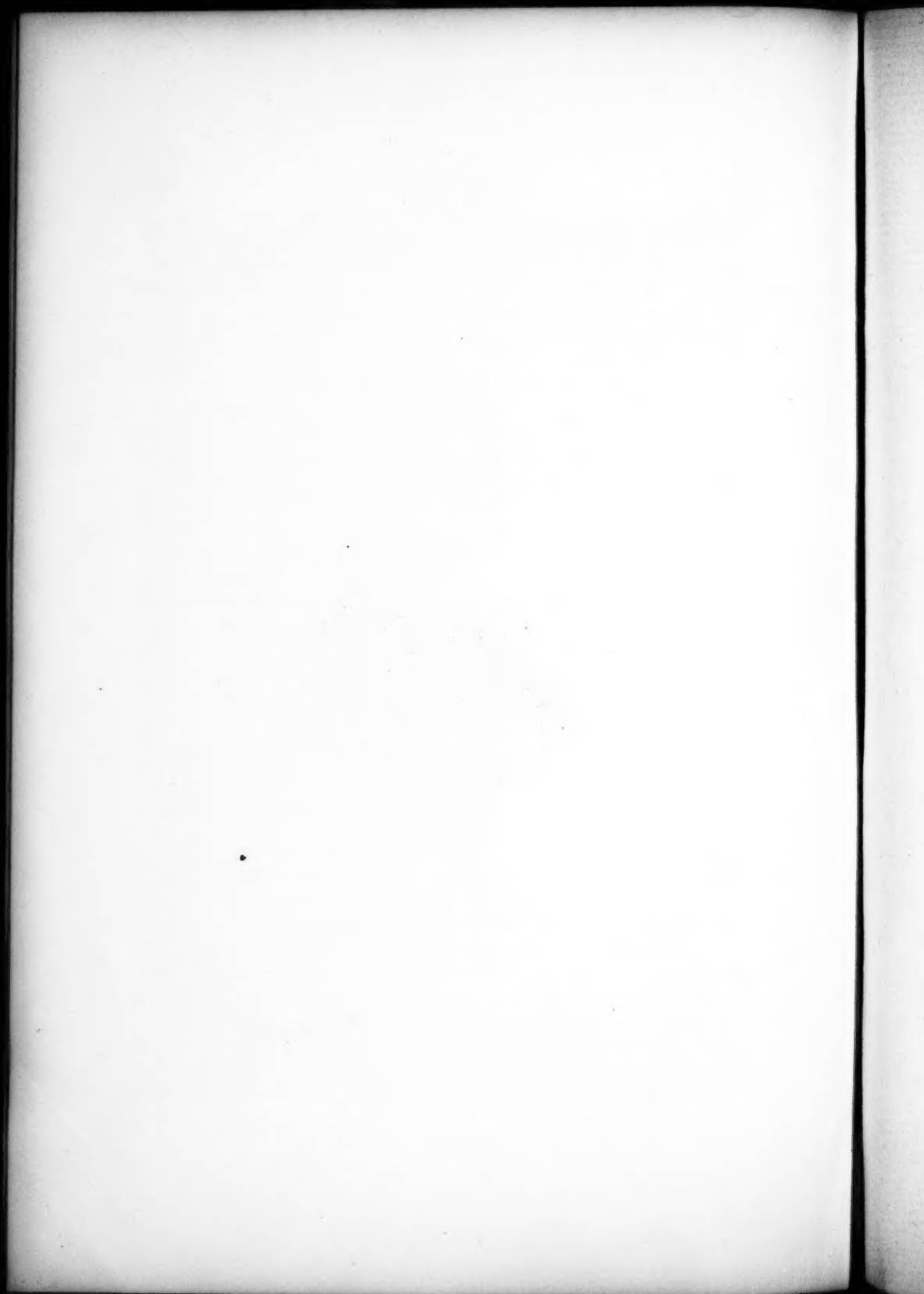
There are many men who do a large amount of good in the world because, by reason of their position or occupation, it comes naturally to their hands, while there are a few whose natures are gauged on such a plan that they go out and seek the chance of clearing the world of some of its sore troubles, and give their lives and best efforts for the help of others. Of the latter class is the Hon. Felix R. Brunot of Pittsburgh, whose name long since became known all over our land as that of a philanthropist, a Christian knight ever bent on deeds of good, and a broad-minded patriot who had the vision to discern some of our national and social wrongs and the courage to speak out against them. His life has been full of good works, and in the space at my command I can only touch them in outline. He was born on February 7, 1820, in the United States arsenal in Newport, Kentucky, where his father, an officer in the regular army, was located. When only a year old his father removed to Pittsburgh, and five years later retired from the army and purchased a large tract of land where the Union railway depot is now located. When fourteen years of age the son was sent to Jefferson college at Cannonsburgh,



Magazine of Western History

Philip R. Brundt.

Engr. by T. D. Williams & Co. N.Y.



where his natural ability found ready cultivation and were laid the foundations of the liberal education and scholarship he has so readily given to the use of his fellows. On leaving college he engaged as a civil engineer under W. Milnor Roberts. He was occupied in this profession until 1842, when he went to Rock Island, Illinois, and took part in the milling business, dealing in wheat and grain, and owning and managing a store at Camden, on Rock river, where his mill was situated. The two years of "the Irish famine" occurred during this period, and the universal advance in breadstuffs made the business of the mills very successful financially. In 1847 he returned to Pittsburgh, where he became a silent partner in the large Singer, Minic & Co. steel works, which connection he has since retained.

From his earliest days Mr. Brunot took a deep interest in all questions of public advancement and moral reform, and there has not been a moment of his manhood in which he has not had some benevolent or reformatory interest in hand and in heart. One of the first things that grew out of seeds deep planted in his memory, was the reflection that the obtaining of good books and a proper place of spending their evenings by boys and young men ought not to be as difficult as it was to him in his early days. In the working out of this idea he was one of the chief moving spirits in founding the Mercantile Library, an institution that reflects great credit on the city in which it is located. He was for many years its president, and gave much thought and energy to its foundation and advancement. He was the projector of the Library Hall and is still one of its managers. His time was occupied in many avenues of usefulness from 1847 up to the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, when he found a broader field, in which he did a grand and useful service. A personal friend in authority offered him a high military position, but after looking the matter over with a single reference to the good he might do, he declined it and staked out a line of duty for himself. He determined to go, at his own expense, to the aid of the sick and the wounded in the hospital and on the field, and to do for them what some one must do, and where he felt that he had a special call by nature and the training of his life. The path of opportunity was soon opened to his feet. From the battlefield of Shiloh there came such word of suffering that the heart of the North gave ready answer. At Pittsburgh two relief boats filled with medicines and other needed supplies were fitted out immediately, and Mr. Brunot tendered the charge of them, which he willingly accepted. A small party

of volunteer physicians and nurses accompanied him. They moved down to the Tennessee river with all possible speed, and began their hard but noble work at Pittsburgh Landing. Aid was given as it could be and where it could, and some four hundred of the sick and wounded were taken aboard the boats and carried to Pittsburgh, many dying by the way. Among many brave men who were brought to Pittsburgh was Major Powell, the well known United States explorer and ethnologist. On his return home Mr Brunot was taken sick in consequence of his labors and actual contact with disease, suffering greatly from blood poisoning. After a number of weeks of suffering he recovered and decided to again take up his work in the field. His hands were full from that moment onward. He worked with all his heart and energy, and the good he did can never be placed on record. He had a pass from Secretary Stanton which allowed him to go through the lines at all places, wherever and whenever he would. The need of his aid was all the summons he required, and wherever there was suffering, no matter how near to danger it might be, there was he found. In June, 1862, in anticipation of the battles before Richmond, the Pittsburgh sanitary committee organized a party of twenty-five surgeons, medical cadets and others who had volunteered for the purpose of doing hospital work at the front. Mr. Brunot was asked to take charge of them and he consented. They had engaged in their work at Savage Station several weeks when the battle of Gaines Mills, the first of the great seven days battles, was fought on June 27. McClellan's change of base had commenced. The Union troops where Mr. Brunot and his band were stationed were ordered to retreat. Such was the suffering about them, among the wounded that were to be abandoned, that Mr. Brunot could not bring himself to leave, but with eleven of his young men who would not desert him, he stayed behind and kept faithfully on with his work. When the Union forces withdrew, the Confederates took possession of the point where they were located, at Savage Station. Mr. Brunot was told he would not be molested provided he would aid the men in gray as well as those in blue, to which he consented. He kept at his work for nearly a week, when for some reason of their own the rebel authorities broke their word and took the whole party prisoners and sent them to the awful harborage of Libby prison. They were thrust in with the others, the only advantage allowed being that Mr. Brunot was treated as a physician and permitted to sleep in the room set aside for that class of prisoners. They were robbed of their medicines, and of any little appliances for per-

sonal comfort they had about them. I will go into no detail of the suffering and the scenes about them, as the story has been so often told. At the end of eight days in the prison Mr. Brunot was called out by the authorities and told that he was to be sent to Washington to negotiate an exchange of himself and two of his companions for the well known Lawrence Washington and two prominent Southerners who had fallen into Federal hands under grave circumstances. He was made to give a pledge that on the failure of his mission he was to return and again place himself in Confederate hands. He was sent to Washington by a devious and circuitous route, including Petersburg and Fortress Monroe. On reaching Washington he soon called on Secretary Stanton and made known his errand and the peculiar character of the mission he bore. "I came" said he "to see if you would exchange me for a rebel."

"I would give nine of them for you," said the secretary, who was his personal friend.

When Mr. Brunot named the terms, Mr. Stanton looked grave and shook his head, explaining why it could not be done. He then added that Mr. Brunot must not go back to Richmond, as his arrest and imprisonment had been made in face of the clearest and most explicit stipulations between the two armies that men engaged in this task were not to be taken or held as prisoners of war. Mr. Brunot replied that his word had been given and that he would have to make it good, no matter how the general case might be or be looked upon. On his persistence in that course, Mr. Stanton grew quite angry and declared that the consequences must be on his own head. Mr. Brunot went back to Savage Station and reported the failure of his mission. The exchange commissioners happened to be at that point, and it was not long before an arrangement was made by which he was exchanged. The Confederate authorities gave him a certificate showing that he had kept faith with them and returned as he had agreed. During the remainder of the war he kept on the same course of usefulness. Whenever he heard of a battle he went to it and did whatever there was to do. He had charge of various volunteer bodies of nurses. Three times he was compelled to return home by reason of sickness, and each time he went back as soon as his strength would permit. When the war was over his system was so full of the poison with which he had been constantly surrounded, that his physician told him his only chance was to get out of the country and seek a change. Accompanied by Mrs. Brunot he made a tour of three months in Europe,

slowly getting his health and renewing his strength. He returned in the fall of 1865, but was not long allowed to rest. President Grant, in his early days, had gained some knowledge of the Indian question, and shared the belief that had even then filtered itself into the opinion of some, that the white man was not always right and the red man always wrong. In 1868 he constituted that famous board of Indian commissioners, which, with Mr. Burnot at the head, did a grand work for the Indian and aroused a public sentiment which is potent and effective to the present day. The members were : Felix R. Brunot, Pittsburgh ; Robert Campbell, St. Louis ; Wm. Welsh, Philadelphia ; Nathan Bishop, New York ; William E. Dodge, New York ; John V. Farwell, Chicago ; George H. Stuart, Philadelphia ; Edward S. Tobey, Boston ; John D. Lang, Maine ; and Vincent Colyer, New York, as secretary. Mr. Brunot was chosen chairman, and continued in that position during his entire connection with the board. Mr. Colyer soon resigned, and Thos. K. Cree of Pittsburgh was made secretary. The commissioners received no compensation for their time or services, their expenses of transportation being borne by the government. Their mission was broad in scope, but very definite as to purpose. They were to go among the Indians and learn their grievances, hear their side of the story, note down their complaint of the white men set over them, and to seek out, so far as possible, the truth of the situation and discover where and in what manner wrong or injustice had been done. They were also to examine all supplies sent out for the Indians, as serious complaint had been made of great rascality in this direction. Great good resulted from this quest. Mr. Brunot, as chairman, gave his whole heart and soul to the work. He spent five summers in traveling among the various tribes and from post to post, going into Wyoming, Colorado, California, Washington, Oregon and Montana. He visited the various tribes, told them of his mission and asked them to freely and fully state their complaints. His reports, as sent to the President, of these various interviews, with reproductions of the speeches of the chiefs and head men, are full of an absorbing interest. In proof of this one need only look at his interview with Red Cloud and the chiefs of the Ogallala Sioux, held at Fort Laramie in 1871. The rude eloquence of the Indian in his opening speech goes straight to the point, and reminds one of the famous oratory of Logan in the older days. Said he :

I am Red Cloud. The Great Spirit raised both the white man and the Indian. I think He raised the Indian first. He raised me in this land and it belongs to me. The white man was raised over the great waters, and his land is over there. Since they crossed the sea I have given them room. There are now white men all about me. I have but a small spot of land left. The Great Spirit told me to keep it. I went and told the Great Father so.

No wonder the commissioners came to feel that there were two sides to this bitter and troubled problem. No wonder, on hearing such pleas day after day and seeing what was laid open to his keen vision, Mr. Brunot was led to see the need of a reform, and that the red man was not the sole sinner. There is truth and justice in a plea like this from the lips of Little Raven :

I think the Great Spirit has something to do with bringing you all here to-night. Long ago the Arapahoes had a fine country of their own. The white man came to see them, and the Indians gave him buffalo meat and a horse to ride on, and told him the country was big enough for the white man and the Arapahoes too. After a while the white men found gold in our country. They took the gold and pushed the Indian from his home. The government sent agents and soldiers out to us, and both have driven us from our lands. We do not want to fight. The white man has taken away everything.

Or this, from a chief of the Cayuse tribe :

You came here to ascertain what is in our mind. This reservation is marked out for us. We see it with our eyes and our hearts ; we all hold it with our bodies and with our souls. Right out here are my father and mother, and brothers and sisters, and children, all buried. I am guarding their graves ! My friend, this reservation, this small piece of land, we look upon it as our mother, as if she were raising us. You come to ask me for my land. It is like as if we, who are Indians, were to be sent away and get lost. I look upon all sides. On the outside of the reservation I see your houses ; they have windows ; they are good ; you are bringing up your children well. My friends, you must not talk too strong about getting my land. I like my land and will not let it go. You have been asking my heart about the reservation. This is my heart.

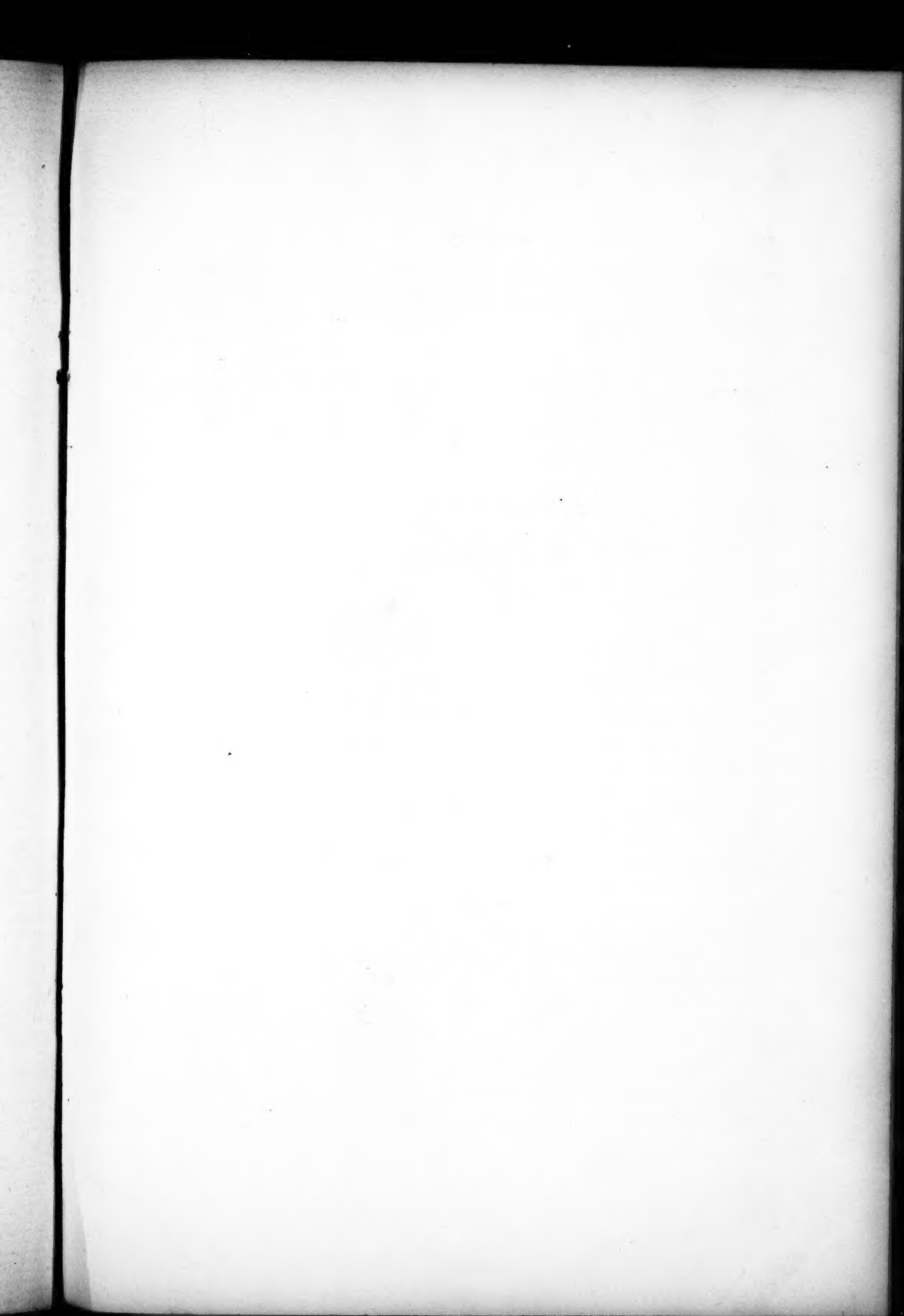
When the commission resigned because they did not receive the cordial backing and support at Washington that the results of their labors demanded, and which were essential to the bringing about of reforms they believed should take place, Mr. Brunot by no means gave up his interest nor laid the work down. From that day to this he has been eloquent and earnest, in the press, on the platform and by personal appeal, in advocating a proper justice toward the red man, and an application by the government and the people of the rules of commonest justice. He has been very outspoken on some points in issue. He believes that the Indians should feel the same punishment for violation of law as is meted out to the white men, and that white men should be held to answer for wrongs done the Indians ; that the lands should be given to the Indians in severalty ; that they should be encouraged to work them and instructed how to farm. He does not believe that they should be turned over to the war department. In a hasty glance at the various reports made the gov-

ernment by Mr. Brunot, as chief of the commission, I have culled the following random quotations, which shadow forth his belief on this great question, and show the mature opinions that have come as the result of his long and patient investigations:

The clearly defined allotment of their respective duties to the Indian agents and the military officers in the Indian country can hardly fail to secure harmony of action, and it is hoped that capable Christian agents may soon be appointed to represent the department of the interior upon the reservation. . . . When it is remembered that the Indians of Oregon and Washington were only placed upon reservations from ten to fifteen years ago, it must be admitted that their progress toward civilization has been wonderfully rapid. . . . When they have adopted civilized costume and civilized modes of subsistence, we owe it to them, and to ourselves, to teach them the majesty of civilized law, and to extend to them its protection against the lawless among themselves. Some amendment of the laws which prohibit the selling of spirituous liquors to the Indians is needed. Many of the partially civilized Indians are ready for the allotment of their lands in severalty, and this should be done as rapidly as possible, under some regulation which would prevent the alienation of such lands for a term of years. . . . The removal of partially civilized tribes, already making fair progress and attached to their homes on existing reservations, is earnestly deprecated. The government owes them the protection of their rights, to which it is solemnly pledged by treaty, and which it cannot fail to give without dishonor. It is imperatively necessary that the lines of the reservations should be defined, and trespassers ejected. . . . The system of appointing Indian agents nominated by missionary societies commends itself to the judgment of the board. . . . The schools among the partly civilized Indians should in all cases be boarding schools, where children of both sexes, while being taught necessary branches of a common education, may, at the same time, be instructed in manual labor appropriate to their respective sexes. . . . If national honor requires the observance of national obligations entered into with the strong, how much more with the weak. To repudiate either directly or by any indirection, our solemn treaty obligations with this feeble people, would be dishonor, meriting the scorn of the civilized world.

I might quote at much greater length the wise and humane suggestions in these reports, showing that while Christian principles are suggested, a common sense view is taken of the existing difficulties in the way, and that nothing is put forward that is not a possibility if the purpose is set in the right direction. Mr. Brunot has shown in this work not only that he is a man with a large heart, but of broad mind and fine brain as well.

The labors outlined above alone by no means comprise his work in the world. He has for years been an active member of St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal church of Pittsburgh, of which he is senior warden. He is a director in the Allegheny cemetery; a director of the Western Pennsylvania hospital, to which he has given a great deal of personal attention; director in the General hospital of Allegheny; one of the managers of the Western university, and his services are in constant demand in many of the avenues of public reform. He has also had extensive business responsibilities, among other labors being a director of the Monongahela Navigation company, a director of the bank of Pittsburgh, and also director in the Safe Deposit company. It would be hard to find





Figures of Western History

John Harpur

Eng'd by E. G. Williams & Son N.Y.

in any community a man who has given so much of his time, his talents, his money, and the best interests of his heart to the public good ; and the high honor in which he is held in the national heart has been most worthily won. In all his labors he has found a cheerful helper in his wife, a noble Christian woman, who united her lot with his nearly forty years ago, who has been an encouragement to him in all hours, whether of earnest advancement or sore trial, and who has won for herself long since a good name for deeds of charity and helpfulness to those among whom her lot has been cast.

JOHN HARPER.

The solid and massive masonry that constitutes the material part of the Bank of Pittsburgh is a worthy and appropriate symbol of its financial solidity, and of the wonderful and honorable record it has made in the three-quarters of a century in which it has been a power in the land. The year 1810, in which it first had a being, was one of commercial uncertainty and financial fear, owing to apprehensions of a crisis on the approaching termination of the charter of the first United States bank, which ceased to exist in March, 1811. There were, besides, serious difficulties with France, as all American vessels reaching French ports, or any ports under French control, were commanded to be seized and condemned. Although this order was soon revoked by the great emperor, President Madison's interdiction of commercial intercourse with Great Britain was still in force. The times were critical and it required some courage to venture out in new financial enterprises ; the more so as mutterings of the coming war were then already heard. But Pittsburgh had begun to grow toward her future greatness, and the need of a bank was severely felt. Some of her enterprising men came to the front and took steps toward supplying the missing want. An organization was formed, with William Wilkins as president, and twenty-three directors. An application was made to the state legislature for a charter. The terms they offered the state were as follows : One million dollars were to be raised as capital. Forty thousand dollars worth of the capital stock was to be transferred to the state, or twenty thousand of it to be given towards the proposed bridge across the Allegheny river, and the other twenty thousand to that proposed across the Monongahela, with twenty thousand more towards turnpiking the state road ; and still another addition of forty-five thousand to any public improvement or improvements the legislature

might select. The proposition was not accepted. The men who had made it were not of the material to be easily rebuffed or thwarted in their efforts. After a careful consideration of the subject, they decided to do their banking independently of state machinery. They associated themselves into a partnership with individual liability, and took the name of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing company. Some time had passed in preparation, and June of 1812 had been reached before the scheme was fully formulated. By this time the war cloud so long threatened had descended in its full force, and the infant republic was once more in mortal combat with her maternal foe. The times were not auspicious, and yet there was so much business life and vitality in the then far westward frontier town that the experiment was a success from the start. The city was benefited beyond measure. Business exchange was aided as never before. Money was furnished for the promotion of the infant manufacturing interests. The company also did something in the way of insurance, and thus had a dual mission. In 1814 the legislature seems to have been governed by a more reasonable spirit than had prevailed before and a charter was obtained. The Bank of Pittsburgh was organized for business November 14, 1814, and began a corporate existence, as it had already for two years had one in fact. William Wilkins was chosen president, Alexander Johnston, Jr., cashier, and nearly the same staff of officers retained. The nominal capital was six hundred thousand dollars, but, "owing to the scarcity of money in consequence of the war, and the commercial revulsion which followed it in 1820 and long after, the capital was not called in until 1834." In that year its capital stock was increased to one million two hundred thousand dollars. A better era of business and business prosperity seemed to be dawning, and the bank felt the revival along with the other commercial and financial institutions of the time. The present great bank building was erected, and an assured season of quietness seemed a thing of the immediate future. But this was soon broken. The monetary crisis of 1837 came, and close in its wake that of 1839. In the first named year the old bank kept straight ahead redeeming its obligations and paying out coin on demand, except for a very brief period, when it temporarily suspended, not from any desire or lack of resource on its own part, but in obedience to a request of a large public meeting of citizens, who were afraid lest Pittsburgh should be drained of coin for the benefit of the east; but the bank soon took the matter again into its own hands, and supplied all the demands

made upon it. In 1839, when another crisis befell, it continued its payments without halt or hesitation. In 1845, when the conflagration that is even yet called "the great fire," swept over Pittsburgh, the bank building was partially injured. "It is a gratifying fact," said the present president, Mr. John Harper, on a recent occasion, "that in this appalling catastrophe the bank did not protest a single obligation of its customers, but, by exercising indulgence, collected eventually the whole of their indebtedness. Such was the stability and energy displayed in that crisis that the city soon arose out of its ashes, renewed and invigorated." In the crisis of 1857, the bank adopted the same course pursued in 1839; it continued to pay specie on all its liabilities, and out of the ordeal the institution came stronger and with a greater hold on public confidence than ever before. The general suspension of specie payment in December, 1861, on account of the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, did not change the policy of the bank in this respect. It continued to redeem its notes and pay its depositors in gold. The high premium on coin made this a costly proceeding, as the aggregate of the gold thus paid was nearly one million four hundred thousand dollars. The bank never organized under the national bank law, but has continued to work up to the present time under its old state charter. A meeting was called on the passage of that law to decide how many of the stockholders desired the change, but as only a few of them put in an appearance, the directors resolved to continue on the old plan, let the consequences be what they might.

There is not an institution in America to-day that can show a cleaner and more honest record than can this solid old bank. There never was a defalcation in its accounts nor a misdemeanor committed by any of its officers involving the loss of a dollar. Men of high standing and integrity have been and are in its directory. Its first president, Mr. Wilkins, was secretary of war in 1844, a minister to Russia, and a member of the United State senate. The majority of its stock is held by women or by estates, and consequently those in control have not been hampered by the designs and desires of scheming and ambitious men. One remarkable thing in its record is that in its seventy-odd years of existence it has never failed to pay a semi-annual dividend. It was the first bank of issue established west of the Alleghany mountains. During this long period it has had only six presidents, including the present incumbent. I here quote from an article recently published in a banking paper touching the great success of this institution:

Under all its vicissitudes and notwithstanding the disadvantages resulting from its character as a state bank since the introduction of the national banking system, the Bank of Pittsburgh has made a most successful financial record for itself. From May, 1815, when it paid its first corporate dividend, it has with unfailing regularity paid semi-annual dividends every year since. Its stockholders have thus received a round six million dollars profit, and in addition to this handsome sum, the bank has earned a net surplus of between three or four hundred thousand dollars which is set apart as a reserve and contingent fund. Add to these sums seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars paid by the bank in taxes to the general and state governments since 1850, the total net earnings of the Bank of Pittsburgh up to date foot up the sum of seven million dollars.

This record shows that men of more than ordinary ability and financial reputation have had its interest in charge. That such is the case is more than proved in the long service given it by its present president, Mr. John Harper, who for fifty-three years has been a part and portion of the great institution. His energy, ability, careful management and wise prudence have been given to it without stint, and its interests have ever been kept close to his heart. No complete record of the bank could be written without including that of his life. He was born in the county of Donegal, Ireland, of English lineage, in 1811, and was brought by his parents to this country in 1820. They located in Washington, D. C., where for six years the son was given such advantages of schooling as the day and place afforded. In 1826 (the father having died in 1821) the widowed mother gathered her children about her and removed to Jefferson county, Ohio. One of these children was Senator Lecky Harper of Ohio, a brother of the subject of this sketch. The son John, with that characteristic independence and self-reliance that have been seen in so many phases of his life, determined to do for himself at an early age, and to thus aid his mother and relieve her of a portion of her cares. At an early age he entered a mercantile house of Steubenville in a minor position, but had so won his way that at the age of nineteen he was bookkeeper and confidential clerk. It was during this period that Edwin M. Stanton was employed in a neighboring store, and between him and young Harper there grew up an intimacy that extended clear up to the great war secretary's death. In 1831 Mr. Harper made a move that brought him into a larger field and proved the turning point of his future. Messrs. M. & A. Leech, one of the largest firms of Pittsburgh, at that time being in need of a bookkeeper, and hearing of Mr. Harper and his home reputation, made him an advantageous offer which he accepted. After he had been there a year there was a vacancy in the Bank of Pittsburgh, occasioned by the death of its first cashier, Alex. Johnston, Jr., and the election of John Snyder as his successor. This vacancy was filled by the choice of John Harper,

who soon after became principal clerk. The young man never applied for the office, but was elected without his knowledge. The only other bank in the city at that time was the branch of the Bank of the United States. He entered upon what proved to be his life mission on September 19, 1832, when he was just three months of being of age. His readiness, keenness and ability so impressed his superiors that after a few years of experience in the parent institution he was sent as cashier to the branch bank at Beaver, in 1837. In those days the cashier was the chief officer of the bank, and under the guidance of the directors controlled its financial operations, the president being the official head and not supposed to be an expert in the details of its working or policy. In a short time Mr. Harper was recalled from Beaver to fill the very responsible position of assistant to John Snyder, the cashier. In a recent utterance concerning the old days Mr. Harper feelingly said: "To Mr. Snyder I am indebted for my education in financial matters. He told me what books to read and how to inform myself as to all matters pertaining to the business I had entered upon. He was an old man at the time, and venerated by the whole community." Mr. Harper made such good use of the sage advice of his chief that on the retirement of the latter in 1856 his assistant was given the place. That he filled it with honesty and ability is a foregone matter, and when in 1866 he was tendered the position of president and accepted, the feeling was general in the business community that the old bank could not be in safer and truer hands. As a financier his genius had long been recognized, and as a man he has ever been respected. He still gives the institution the benefit of his daily services, and is alive to all the monetary and commercial questions of the day. Those who have business at the bank or with him personally are always met by that urbane courtesy that can only be defined by the honorable appellation "old school," and that can never be equaled by the brusque and ship-shod manners of the present. His leading position in the banking world has long been recognized, and a recent issue of one of the journals of Pittsburgh in commenting on his record says:

The fifty-one years of his connection with the bank include its most critical and its most prosperous periods. He entered it when the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States was being discussed in congress and the currency of the country greatly disturbed thereby; when the most promising industries of Pittsburgh were threatened with disaster by the determined onslaught of the Southern statesmen upon the tariff system. He saw it through the dark days of '37, following President Jackson's violent disturbance of the national finances, the crisis which came two years later; the local depression caused by the great fire of 1845, when over 1,000 houses—most of them occupied by mer-

chants and manufacturers—were laid in ashes; the general monetary crises of 1837, 1839, 1857, 1861 and 1873. He was at that memorable meeting of the directors in December, 1861, and as cashier suggested their action, whereupon they "resolved that the Bank of Pittsburgh should as heretofore meet its obligations in specie, regardless of the action of other institutions."

At a meeting of the board of directors of the bank on September 21, 1882, appropriate action was taken in honor of the completion of the fiftieth year of Mr. Harper's connection with the bank. A congratulatory speech was made by Mr. Reuben Miller, on behalf of the directors, in which, among many other kind things, he said:

MR. PRESIDENT:—The announcement made to us yesterday that this month of this year, 1882, completed an uninterrupted service of fifty years, is at once startling and pleasant; and we, as a board, desire to place on record some minute of our pleasure in recognizing the value to us of such an example. . . . Strange as is the possibility of such long continued service, pleasanter still is the fact that in all these days and years no loss has ever been sustained by this corporation through misconduct of its employes. Immense sums in the aggregate have been received and distributed, and nothing of evil appears to mar the record. Moreover, tradition tells us that in times of disaster and distress, when men did not know whom to trust, this old bank stood ready to assist those who were worthy, and the years of 1837, 1839, of 1857 and of 1861 proved that her vaults were at the same time the safest for those who trusted her, and the sure staff of those who were trusted by her. . . . Sir, we as directors desire to extend to you our congratulations—rather we should ask others to congratulate us who have the experience of fifty years to lead us. We ask you to accept our best wishes for your welfare; and when the time comes (as it will to each one of us) to close the vaults for the last time, that you will leave for us who may remain that key of integrity and honor which will enable a successor to re-open, continue worthy and remain faithful to his trust.

Mr. Harper made a touching and appropriate response in which he graphically sketched the history of the bank, and told something of the men who had had it in charge. In conclusion he said:

Gentlemen, what my part has been in the long era I have been connected with the Bank of Pittsburgh, I leave for others to decide. I feel that I am in the front rank of the generation slowly advancing to confront the inevitable. It has been the constant wish of my life that when I am taken away from this bank, the institution will be found in a better condition than it was at any former period of its existence, with its historical policy untarnished. Two-thirds of the capital stock is held by women, widows, orphans and estates. It is our duty to consider ourselves as trustees of a beneficiary fund of the most sacred character. Those we represent have confided in our integrity, and it is our duty to administer the trust with fidelity; doing all that our judgment and conscience may prompt in the performance of the obligations which we have assumed. That done, we will have no regrets. Accept, gentlemen, my cordial thanks for your good will, and most friendly expression of the same on the present occasion.

Mr. Harper has been a useful member of society in many ways beside his connection with finances. He has filled a number of positions of trust and responsibility. He was chosen president of the Pittsburgh clearing house on its creation, and has held the office uninterruptedly to the present day. He is president of the Western Pennsylvania hospital, and was one of its founders. He is president of the Pittsburgh and Allegheny Suspen-

sion Bridge company, a director of the Monongahela Navigation company, a trustee of the Western University of Pennsylvania, a corporator and director of the Allegheny cemetery, and a member of many other societies and associations formed for the public good. During the war he was chairman of the local finance committee on military affairs and thus rendered great patriotic service to the country; beyond all this he gave a noble and beloved son whose life was bravely risked on many a battlefield, and who carried home with him at the close of the war honorable scars that were nobly won. He has since been called from the field of life, and while the father has possessions, and many good things have fallen to his lot, there is nothing he prizes higher than the record his boy Albert won while fighting for his country's flag.

Mr. Harper while immersed in business has not overlooked the enrichment of mind and culture of intellect, but has been a close student and a wide reader. He is a thorough master of English literature, and possesses one of the finest libraries to be found in Pittsburgh. He has a hand ever open to the calls of charity, great firmness of character, strong domestic attachments, possesses rare scholarly attainments, and is held in esteem and respect in the great community wherein he dwells.

BIOGRAPHIC.

JOEL SCRANTON.

A striking, rugged and thoroughly manly figure that one meets with in looking over the ancient annals of Cleveland is that of Joel Scranton, who came here in the early days and gave the best part of his life to the upbuilding and advancement of the young and growing town. It is almost needless to say that Mr. Scranton was of New England descent, as that fact was so plainly shown forth in his industry, his shrewdness, his honesty and his native good sense that the student of human nature would know where to locate him without reference to the records. He was born in Belchertown, Massachusetts, on April 5, 1793. His father, Stephen Scranton, was a man of unusual ability and force, and was the first man to introduce the manufacture of cut nails into New York state. The affairs of life did not eventually run smooth with him in a financial way, despite his industry and ability, and the son Joel was thrown on his own resources. He was compelled to find a way, and found it. He gave himself to such openings of labor and trade as he met with, and slowly but surely added to his possessions. In 1819 he decided on a broader venture and came to the then small town of Cleveland with a schooner load of leather—an article he well knew would be always saleable no matter what else the people might do without. Cleveland was then a mere village. Its charter had been issued only five years before. Its first church organization, that of Trinity, was only three years old. Communication with the outside world had only just been established through a stage line to Columbus, another to Norwalk, and a few months later by wagon lines to Buffalo and Pittsburgh. But Mr. Scranton had a vision of unusual keenness, and in the signs and movements of the times he noticed a germ of growth, and believed that a future lay before the little town. So he decided to make his stand here, and cast his fortunes with those of the general lot. He opened a store, and having a natural genius for mercantile life he prospered wonderfully, and early gained a strong and sure financial



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Doel Swanton

footing. After a time he ceased the active operations of business, and purchased a large farm on the farther side of Cuyahoga river, on the line of what in his honor has since been called Scranton avenue, but which in those days was unbroken country and farm land. He occupied a small but snug farm house on a raised portion of the ground, near the point where Scranton avenue runs under the railroad bridge, and where the old Cleveland & Mahoning railroad depot subsequently stood. Hon. Harvey Rice, with whom I have talked before writing this sketch, says that he can remember it well, as it lay among the apple trees, and where the green fields and cultivated lands ran from it and down across the flats to the banks of the Cuyahoga river—a vision that must be hard to recall when one looks upon the great lumber piles, busy factories, depots, and lines of railroad cars that now cover all that territory. Mr. Scranton oversaw the management of his farm, although not called upon to give it any personal labor. On June 27, 1828, he was married to Miss Irene P. Hickox, preceptress of a ladies' seminary and a woman of unusual culture and grace of character. Five children were born to this union, all of whom died except one daughter, Mrs. Mary S. Bradford, who inherited her father's wealth and who has long been known for her many charitable deeds, and for the willingness with which her money and time have been given to various works of benevolence.

Mr. Scranton lived to see his adopted city well started on its road to greatness, and to see his farm lands crowded upon on all sides by growing business enterprises. He was stricken with apoplexy, and died on the ninth of April, 1858, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and was laid to rest amid the tears and regrets of many who loved him for his straightforward honesty and manly uprightness of character. He was buried in Erie Street cemetery, but his remains, with those of his family, were afterwards removed to Woodland. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, and a Mason. In politics he was first a Whig, and afterwards, when that party dissolved, he became a Republican and was staunch and firm in his party's support. He is described by Mr. Rice, and others who knew him well, as of heavy build, with a strong, earnest face and a keen eye. He was reticent by nature, and spoke only when he had something to say, and then the most direct and plainest words suited him the best. He could talk well if he chose, and those who knew him intimately say that he had a deep fund of information and native wit to draw upon when he felt disposed to make use thereof. He was a business man of unques-

tioned ability, and stood in the front rank of those of his day and generation. He planned well, and knew when and where to buy and when and how to sell. He was strictly honest in all his dealings with men, and expected them to be so in their business relations with him. His mind was strong and his judgment well balanced. He was a good husband, a kind parent and a firm friend; and when he died Cleveland lost a patriotic citizen and one who had done much to give her business men a reputation for honesty, industry and fair dealing with all men.

I am tempted to tell here, in conclusion, a story heard from one of Mr. Scranton's old friends, in illustration of his native wit and keen business shrewdness. After giving up the store he had so long kept on the corner of Water and Superior streets, where the National Bank building now stands, he leased it to a man whose name it is needless to mention here. From various suspicious movements, Mr. Scranton became convinced that the intentions of the other were not honest, and that he did not mean to pay the rent he had agreed upon. Mr. Scranton would not go to law in the matter, but thought out a plan of his own and put it into execution. After asking for what was due him several times, and waiting a reasonable period, he went one morning to the store, sat down, said never a word, but kept his eye on the proprietor as the latter went about among his customers. He remained until noon, saying not a word, and then went home to dinner. In the afternoon the same programme was carried out and on the day following. The man had grown very uneasy by this time, and when Mr. Scranton appeared on the third day, he rushed to his money drawer, counted out the sum due, and thrust it at him and cried, "For heaven's sake here it is. I can't stand this any longer." Mr. Scranton gave him a receipt, and went away well satisfied with his quiet and ingenious method of collecting a bad debt.

EDITORIAL.

[The following notes are from the pen of B. A. Hinsdale.]—EDITOR.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1775.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, England owned the eastern side of the North American continent, from the Gulf of Mexico to the frozen sea. But the revolutionary movement was confined to the narrow strip of coast between the Penobscot and the St. Mary's. This coast is only the fringe to the continent, and even this was settled and improved only in spots. Few settlements had been made two hundred miles from the seashore. About one-half of the thirteen states claimed the Mississippi river as their western boundary, but their western lands added nothing to their population or resources. Every state touched the sea and had an outlook toward Europe. Mr. DeBow estimates the population in 1775 at 2,803,000—2,303,000 whites and 500,000 slaves—a number that falls short by more than half a million of the present population of Ohio. This population was thus distributed:

Massachusetts	352,000
Pennsylvania.....	341,000
Virginia.....	300,000
Connecticut.....	262,000
New York.....	238,000
North Carolina.....	181,000
Maryland.....	174,000
New Jersey.....	138,000
New Hampshire.....	102,000
South Carolina.....	93,000
Rhode Island.....	58,000
Delaware.....	37,000
Georgia.....	27,000
Total.....	2,803,000

It will be seen that the population of Massachusetts, the most populous state, was only one and one-half times the present population of Cleveland. The three principal cities were

Philadelphia, New York and Boston; the first two having from 20,000 to 22,000 inhabitants each and the third only 17,000. Thus the Boston of 1776—the Boston of revolutionary talents, patriotism, public spirit, character and sacrifice—was a town smaller than our Akron or Youngstown. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with one thousand houses and six thousand people, was the largest inland town.

An intelligent observer remarked, two years before the war began, that every colony had its peculiar staple commodity: "Canada, fur; Massachusetts Bay, fish; Connecticut, lumber; New York and Pennsylvania, wheat; Virginia and Maryland, tobacco; North Carolina, pitch and tar; South Carolina, rice and indigo; Georgia, rice and silk." The present great staple of the south was not mentioned. Cotton was planted in the United States as early as 1621, and a few bags were shipped from Charlestown in 1748; but Whitney's great invention was yet in the future, and king cotton was unheard of.

In 1777 Elkanah Watson, a young Rhode Islander, made the journey from Providence to Charlestown, a distance of twelve hundred and forty-three miles, on horseback, in seventy days. For the time, there was wealth among the planters of the south, the farmers of eastern Pennsylvania, the Patroons of New York, and particularly among the merchants of the cities. Manufactures even more than trade had been discouraged by the British government. There was not a man in all the states worth a million dollars. Two hundred thousand dollars made its possessor rich. I have compared the population of the states with that of Ohio; the comparison of their wealth and natural resources is far more unfavorable to the former. We can draw

some conclusions as to the wealth of the country from the fact that so small a sum as two hundred thousand dollars gave its owner reputation as a man of property:

The disparity of numbers, wealth, military and naval armaments, etc., is too obvious to call for more than mention. True, the ocean lay between the two combatants, and there were no steamships in those days; but "fair Britannia ruled the wave" then as now, and the wide bays and deep-mouthed rivers occurring at frequent intervals enabled her ships almost literally to sweep the centres of population and wealth with their broadsides. It is remarkable that almost all of the important towns were at one time or another in the hands of the British; but the country was not conquered, because its heart and life did not lie in towns and cities. Space forbids me to more than speak of the various nationalities who were being fused in the American alembic into one people; the Puritans of New England, the Dutchmen of New York, the Germans of Pennsylvania, the English gentry of the south, the Huguenots, and the Scotch-Irish sprinkled along the base of the mountains from north to south—the race that gave to American history Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun and Horace Greeley. Nor can I do more than mention the long and strenuous battle with nature involved in the struggle for existence and for growth, and the vigorous discipline in arms, now found so valuable, gained in the French and Indian wars.

IDEAS AND INSPIRATIONS.

The story of the Revolution and the causes that led to it has not always been wisely told. We hear much of taxes and interference with trade. As respects commerce and industry, England governed her American colonies in harmony with the "colonial system." The political economists had not yet arisen; in fact, Adam Smith published 'The Wealth of Nations' the very year that the Declaration of Independence was put forth. England has since learned

how colonies should be treated; she now allows them to do pretty much as they please; but to blame her for the Navigation act of 1660 and later legislation of a similar sort, is only to accuse her of not being wise before the time. What reason was there to suspect that she would pursue a nineteenth century policy in the seventeenth or eighteenth century? Then the taxes were both few and slight, quite within the ability of the colonists to pay them. Moreover, from an English standpoint these taxes were just and reasonable. I do not now go into the history of the English parliament to determine its province as respects the component parts of the British empire; suffice it to say, England had emerged victorious from a long and bloody struggle with France. America was one of the theatres of the war, and it had grown in great part out of American questions. The colonies, even more than the mother country, would profit by the victory, since the country back of them to the Mississippi and all the Canadas had been wrested from the hand of France. French wars in America were at an end, and one-half the continent lay open, barring only the Indian, to colonial enterprise. Hence, English statesmen asked: "Why should not the colonies pay some part of the debt that has been created to carry on the war?" And the question seemed all the more plausible when it was remembered that the colonies had, while the war was in progress, contributed freely of both blood and treasure. It is when we touch the matter of representation that the weight of argument shifts to the American side. Said the colonies: "We refuse to be taxed by a body in which we are not heard." But here the reply was ready, that the colonial doctrine of taxation and representation existed only in theory. The English system of representation from the days of Simon of Montford had been most unjust and clumsy. George III.'s reign was preëminently the day of patronage and rotten burroughs. The English suffrage was limited to few persons. The most enlightened statesmen were willing to yield the taxes. Lords Chatham and Camden would yield the

power to tax, but otherwise asserted that parliament had fullest power. But to this day the doctrine of Chatham has not been sanctioned. As late as 1868, an English judge asserted that, although the power to tax the colonies is commonly held in abeyance, yet when the imperial legislature chooses to impose taxes, according to the English law, it has the right to do it. While there were plenty of men in England who thought it unwise to tax the colonies, there were few or none who denied the right. Very naturally, then, when American statesmen took the second step—to demand representation as a condition for every kind of legislation—they found none to support them. The fact is, the patriots were in advance of the time; their demands cannot be fully justified by an appeal to history; they were, really, asserting a new and an enlarged view of government; they were going beyond the theory of the English law into a new field. The inspiration of American nationality was moving in their hearts. They were catching a glimpse of the continental vision.

American writers are writing the history of the Revolution over again. They are not finding new facts, but they are reading the old facts somewhat differently. They are coming to state the case somewhat in a new form. They begin to see that the course pursued by the English king, parliament and ministry was just what might have been expected. Does any one imagine that any other country would have treated the colonies with more consideration? An affirmative answer is not found in the policy of Paris, Vienna or Muscovy. No doubt king and ministers were most shortsighted and irritating, but to vindicate the American Revolution we need not enlarge on the taxes. When the history is all rewritten, the conduct of England will be put in a new and somewhat more favorable light, and the vindication of the war on our side will be all the stronger. This vindication will rest on two main grounds—the principle that representation must go with government, and the idea and inspiration of nationality. The longer the time that elapses, the

more clearly is it seen that America was ripening for independence. No doubt it would have been postponed had the ministry and parliament governed more wisely, but in no case could separation have been long deferred. In the words of a distinguished American now dead:

Our fathers in the Revolution had a great deal to say of being taxed by parliament without being represented in it, and seemed almost to hang the vindication of their revolt on this one point of grievance. But there was a peculiarity in their protest which neither they nor we have always observed as distinctly as the due understanding of it requires. It was really a protest against having this great, new world owned and used for the benefit of a little far-off patch of island in the German ocean, which, compared with the gigantic world-empire here in debate, had no consequence and could have no continental future at all.

REVOLUTIONARY SACRIFICES.

Revolutionary statistics are most meagre and unsatisfactory. Still we know that 232,000 men served, first and last, in the continental army, and 56,000 militia for longer or shorter periods. These numbers are about equal to those that Ohio sent to the army in the civil war. But a naturalist, desiring to study a large leaf or a section of a tree, will not take it all at once; he will put one minute part after another under a microscope of high magnifying power, until he has accomplished his purpose. So if one wishes to know what freedom and independence cost, he should not be content with reading the stately pages of Bancroft; let him also read the revolutionary chapter of a New England township history, where a small section of the war will pass before him. For myself, Rev. Samuel Orcutt's account of Torrington, Connecticut, in the Revolution threw a new and brighter light on the history of those times. When I saw the difficulty with which this Litchfield county township raised its quotas for the continental army—when I saw the Connecticut militia called out five times in a single summer—when I saw the tax-gatherer sell the cow from the pasture and the ox from the furrow—when I saw the women adding reaping the harvest to their customary cares—when I saw the grinding economy and chill poverty that the war caused—I thought I understood the cost and the worth of our birthright better than before; and then when I saw the cheerfulness with which these burdens were borne and these sacrifices made, I appreciated better than ever the souls that were tried as well as the times that tried them.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

Seventeen miles northwest of Pittsburgh, on the right bank of the Ohio river, is situated the town of Economy. The first thing noticeable to the stranger who visits the place, is the uniform plainness of the houses and the fact that all of them stand with their gable ends to the street. Not more strange, however, is the appearance of the town than the customs of the eccentric people who constitute the peculiar religious sect that founded it, and the details of their daily home life. George Rapp, who died in 1847 at the ripe old age of 90 years, and who was laid to rest in the Economite graveyard, founded the singular sect in Wurtemberg, Germany, sometime prior to the year 1800. He believed he had received a divine call, charging him with the restoration of the Christian religion to its original purity. Actuated by this belief he organized the Harmony society on the model of the early church, with goods in common. Some interference with the worship of the society upon the part of the German government led Rapp and his followers to emigrate to the United States. They first settled on the Connoquenessing creek in Butler county, Pennsylvania, in 1805, where they founded the village of Harmony. They devoted themselves to agriculture and manufactures, and acquired considerable wealth. In 1815 they purchased a tract of 27,000 acres of land on the Wabash, in Indiana, to which they removed. The town of New Harmony was established, and even greater prosperity attended the industry of the society than before. This establishment was, however, sold in 1824, and the society removed to the present site of Economy. Here, as at Harmony, Pennsylvania, and New Harmony, Indiana, the community was devoted to agricultural and manufacturing pursuits. Consistent with the code of doctrine promulgated by the founder of the society, both sexes were admitted to membership, with the right to marry denied them. The tenets of Protestantism are practiced and strict morality maintained among them. Universal toleration is taught, and a careful cultivation of letters and music

is observed. The society in 1870 numbered 1,324 members, but death and secessions during the past fifteen years have reduced the number to within a hundred. The survivors, all of whom are well advanced in years, are the common possessors of property of immense value, asserted by some to aggregate not less than \$100,000,000. This vast accumulation of wealth is but the fruit of the society's thrift and the unvarying application of the truism "Economy is wealth." Their unostentatious style of life is, however, in no sense a sacrifice or comfort in either their dress or quantity or quality of food. Everything that the soil will produce is raised in abundance, and disbursed with reasonable liberality. Groceries, dry goods, milk, bread and meat are furnished at stated intervals in any quantity desired—milk twice a day, meat once, bread three times, and so on through the list. The methodical manner in which everything connected with the society is conducted may be seen by a glance at the time table that is observed for meals, work and retirement at night. The bell rings at 5 A. M. announcing breakfast, the bell again at 6 A. M. is the order to go to work, and at 10 o'clock a lunch in common of bread, butter, cheese, meat and cider is served. From 12 to 1 o'clock is the dinner hour. Lunch is served again at 3 P. M. and supper follows at 6:30. The bell rings at 9 o'clock and every one must go to bed. Nine watchmen guard the town at night, and visitors as well as residents are compelled to obey the rules of the society. The clothing of all is made perfectly plain, but of durable material. The dress of the women consists of a gathered skirt, plain waist, full sleeves, and a square kerchief biased about the neck. The extensive interests of the society necessitate the employment of a great deal of help—men and women, both married and single. These of course live together as in any other community, but flirtations among the young men and maidens are sternly rebuked. Should a young lady and gentleman among the help be seen to walk or talk together or should they dare to marry, they are banished from Economy at once. In the large wine cellars of the society are over 50,000 gal-

lons of the choicest wines from their extensive vineyards. Some of this stock is fully half a century old. Last year 500 barrels of cider were made, and though the use of beer and whiskey are strictly inhibited, the Economites drink cider instead of water. Despite this custom, however, and the plenitude of wine, no one was ever known to become a drunkard within the bounds of the community. The washing for every family in the town is taken to the laundry, where it is done by help hired from the common fund specially for that purpose. Years ago the manufacture of the best of silks and woollens was one of the industries of the society, but the factories are silent now. The reason for this is found in the fact that the members are now too old to do the work themselves, and the hired help are lacking in the interest essential to success. Singular as it may seem, while each of the now aged members of the society is a coordinate partner with the others in the vast estate they have accumulated, and each is worth more than \$1,000,000, some of them have never handled a dollar. The managers have cared for the finances of the community and the others would not recognize a piece of money if it were shown to them. One instance of the severity of their prohibitions is found in the rule which is invariably enforced of discharging any employé who may smoke within the limits of the town. The church in which this eccentric people worship is a somewhat ancient looking structure of brick, upon the top of which is situated a belfry containing a large, clear-toned bell and two town clocks. The seating consists in high and straight-backed uncushioned benches. On each side of the auditorium, and directly opposite each other are two rostrums—one for the pulpit and the other for the choir. The former is occupied for an hour each Sunday morning and evening by Mr. Henricl, the aged minister and present manager of the society. The choir, which consists of more than a score of young people, is led by Miss Rapp, the venerable daughter of the founder of the sect. Though 78 years of age and yet not looking more than 60, she presides at the organ with accomplished grace. Miss Rapp is a fine looking, blue-eyed and silver-haired old lady. In her younger days she was a beautiful singer, and though now advanced in years her voice continues sweet and musical. The house in which she lives, like that of all the others, is ancient save in the modern paper that adorns the walls. Rag carpet covers the floors and everything about the place is faultlessly clean. The property upon which Geo. Rapp, her father, settled was bought of the father of James G. Blaine. The old Blaine home-

stead is still standing and until recently did service as a schoolroom. In the house she occupies, Miss Rapp still has a sideboard and little mahogany work-stand that belonged to James G. Blaine's father. Among other antique articles of furniture, she has two pianos, both of which are more than fifty years old. They are both fine-toned and of superior workmanship. Each has four pedals, instead of two as have the more modern ones. The proper adjustment of one of the pedals changes the tone of the instrument to that of an organ. Miss Rapp has also a large and choice collection of paintings. Chief among them is an excellent copy by Otis of West's superb representation of Christ healing the sick. The adoration of Christ is the subject of another in life-sized figures, which displays masterly treatment by the artist. Quaint but artistic are two others of the collection—one representing the ravens feeding Elijah, and Christ and Peter walking on the water. Just as pretty as when they were made, and now cherished by their aged owner, are some wax flowers and fruit fashioned by Miss Rapp fifty years ago. The environments of the house of this singularly well preserved woman are no less neat and tasteful than the interior. The ivy-covered high stone wall surrounds a garden containing a rich array of aromatic and brightly blooming flowers. The centre of the garden contains a lake in miniature, and in the centre of this lake is a little island upon which stands a summer house—made attractive by vases filled with flowers. Near the summer house is a large round mound. The rough exterior of stone is covered by a wealth of clambering vines. Through the side of the mound a door of moderate dimensions leads into a circular room, the walls of which are beautifully frescoed. Positioned at regular intervals around the walls are four large stones bearing the following inscription:

GEO. RAPP,
FOUNDER OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY,
BORN 1757, DIED 1847.
HARMONY, PA., 1805; HARMONY, INDIANA, 1815.
ECONOMY, 1825.

Near by in the orchard is the Economite graveyard and in it, unmarked save by a maple tree of thrifty growth at the head of the grave, repose the remains of the founder of the singular society. Beside him space has been left for placing beside him, when the time shall come, the dust of his daughter. Thus these people have lived and died. They have never boasted of their wealth, nor have they ever seemed to count their gain as misers do. No wayfaring tramp

was ever compelled to pass Economy without what he might need to eat. The poor of the locality have only kindly things to say of these queer people and will regret their absence when the last one is called away. What will become of their wealth when they are gone, they only know.

W. I. DAVENNY.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

In the privately printed 'Autobiography of Charles Biddle, Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, 1745-1821,' the following paragraph appears:

"Upon my arrival at Harrisburgh, after the holidays, I found my old acquaintance, General St. Clair. He had applied to several members of the senate from the western counties, in one of which he resided, to present a petition praying for an alteration in a law passed in his favor. But the general was unpopular in those counties ever since his defeat by the Indians, and he could get none of the members to present his petition. When this was told to me, I called on him, received his petition and presented it, and upon my application to the committee, got them to report a bill in his favor. Some of his friends and myself had a good deal of difficulty in getting the bill passed the house of representatives. It was, however, done, and the general went home in high spirits. He had served his country faithfully in the field and as speaker of the house of representatives of the United States, but was now so much reduced as to live in a miserable hut on the Allegheny, where, it is said, he sold whisky and entertained foot travelers with lodging. He was now upwards of eighty years of age."

ISAAC CRAIG.

Allegheny, Pa., July 31, 1885.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

STORY OF THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES.

Doubtless the name and fate of the child to whom belongs the honor of having been the first white child born west of the Alleghany mountains will never be known. Concerning the first white child born west of the Alleghany mountains under British dominion, however, a considerable amount of information is possessed. The child was born at a point now included within the limits of Pittsburgh, passed his life in the vicinity, attained political distinction and died honored and respected by all who knew him. He was the head of a line of descendants who have been useful members of society, and some of whom are now living in the city and neighborhood. Notwithstand-

ing these facts, the interesting story of his life is probably not known to a dozen persons in the city. It is for this reason and because some of the incidents of his career throw a good deal of light on the manners and customs, the hardships and perils of the pioneers of western Pennsylvania, that the following narrative has been prepared. It has been taken mostly from a family history written by his son, but a few facts have been gleaned from other quarters.

The father of this child was Jonathan Plumer, and about him a few words must be said by way of preface. He was born in Newbury, Mass., April 13, 1724, and was married to Mehitable Herriman June 6, 1744. He resided in Newbury until 1749 or 1750, when his wife died, and he sought to forget his affliction in a change of scene. Eventually he settled at or near Oldtown, Md., near the present town of Cumberland, where he married his second wife, a lady named Ann Farrell. In 1755 he accompanied Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne as commissary, and on the defeat of that general he was compelled to seek safety with his wife in Fort Cumberland. There, in the year 1755, their oldest child, William, was born. He was the father of the late William Swan Plumer, D. D., who was at one time a professor in the Western Theological Seminary, and who was the author of many religious works. According to tradition, Jonathan Plumer, accompanied the army of General Forbes, which, in 1758, took possession of Fort Duquesne, and changed the name of the place to Pittsburgh. A grant of 1,500 acres of land, on the southeast side of the Allegheny river, extending from Two Mile run to the Narrows, was shortly afterwards obtained from the Indians by Colonel George Croghan, and on this tract, at a point about one hundred yards east of the old Ewalt House, which stands on Forty-fifth street, a short distance below Butler, Jonathan Plumer erected a log cabin and made some improvements.

THE FIRST WHITE BIRTH.

It was in this cabin, on the fifth of December, 1762, that George Plumer was born. He was, so he always asserted in his later years, the first white child born west of the Alleghany mountains under British dominion, and in this claim he is backed by a statement to the same effect in *Niles' Register*, an old-time weekly newspaper of Philadelphia, and by another in the 'History of Newbury, Mass.'

The dwellers in this frontier home were frequently annoyed by Indians, and on more than one occasion were compelled to flee to the fort for their lives. When George Plumer was a small boy he saw two

Indians come to the cabin, one of whom threw the fresh scalp of an infant in his mother's face. With a coolness and courage born of constant exposure to danger, Mrs. Plumer did not change color, but set before her unpleasant visitors some meat, bread and honey. After eating until satisfied, they withdrew, giving the warwhoop. On another occasion a canoe load of Indians thrice turned back to massacre the occupants of the cabin, but were dissuaded by the chief known as White Eyes, who reminded them that no Indian ever stopped at Mr. Plumer's abode hungry that was not fed, or in distress that was not relieved.

Jonathan Plumer constructed on this ground a still-house, and made the necessary apparatus himself, in a rude but ingenious manner. This was doubtless the first distillery west of the mountains. There is high authority for the statement that the product was excellent. When George Washington was on a visit to Pittsburgh, in 1770, he called on Mr. Plumer to inspect the still, and admired the mechanical ingenuity displayed. He also tasted the whiskey and pronounced it very good. Jonathan Plumer afterward removed to Elrod, on the Youghiogheny river, where he lived for some years.

One incident which occurred there may be related to show the great reverence with which Sunday was at that time regarded, and the strictness with which it was observed. One Sunday in a spring which followed a year of unusually poor crops, when the game had gone elsewhere, and when the people were reduced almost to starvation, circumstances compelled George Plumer to be on the Youghiogheny river in his skiff. He was making his way homeward, when he happened to spy a large catfish, and and killed it with a pole and drew it into the boat. After the excitement attending this incident had passed away, he recollected that it was Sunday, and his conscience began to be aroused. When he came to the shore he hid the fish among the willows and went to his mother and told her what he had done. She was not prepared to decide the grave question as to whether the killing of the catfish was a profanation of the sacred day, and summoned her husband for his opinion. He questioned George closely as to the manner and circumstances of the event, and then held a family consultation. "It was decided," says the historian, "that as George was not looking for fish, it was the act of divine Providence to save their lives from starvation, and that it was their duty to use it, and proved a great relief to them." Mr. Plumer afterward bought a farm on Long Run, three

or four miles from the Youghiogheny river. He died at the house of his son George in 1802, leaving his farm to his son Thomas. As the result of his first marriage he had three sons, and by his second, four sons and three daughters. Their descendants are scattered almost all over the country, but many of them reside in this city and vicinity. The greater portion of the Plumers in this locality have sprung from Jonathan Plumer.

A ROMANTIC MARRIAGE.

The circumstances attending the marriage of George Plumer are as romantic as could be desired, even in the case of "the first white child born west of the Alleghany mountains under British dominion." The object of his affections was a young lady named Margaret Lowry, and she was the youngest daughter of Colonel Alexander Lowry, a prominent, wealthy and influential Indian trader of Donegal, Lancaster county, Pa. She was visiting her sister Mary, who with her husband, John Hay, lived on a farm a short distance above Six Mile Ferry, given them by Colonel Lowry. "Miss Lowry," says the 'History of Westmoreland County,' "first met with George Plumer at the store of Mr. Elliott [in Pittsburgh], who introduced him to her, as he had a friendly regard for the young buckskin."

An attachment sprang up between them, which resulted in an engagement of marriage. But the course of true love ran no more smoothly then than now. Mr. and Mrs. Hay were both very much opposed to the match, for the reason, it is said, that Plumer was poor. To Miss Margaret's mind, however, poverty was not a sufficient objection, and she was so determined on union with her lover that Mr. and Mrs. Hay were at last compelled to guard her day and night to prevent her eloping with him.

This state of affairs continued three or four nights. One foggy morning, however, at the end of this time, Mrs. Hay, who had been sentinel during the night, was so exhausted and sleepy that she fell an easy victim to Margaret's specious arguments in favor of her going to bed and taking a rest. Mrs. Hay was soon wrapped in the deep slumber which naturally visits those who have to sit up at night with love-stricken young ladies. This was Margaret's opportunity, and she grasped it. She had previously removed her clothing, little by little, to the spring house, and now she hastened thither and changed her dress. Her lover was in waiting with horses in a clump of trees near by, and she was soon mounted by his side. But all was not yet safe. At this criti-

cal stage of the proceedings the friendly fog, which had hitherto veiled their actions, lifted, and Mr. Hay, who had some time before gone out into the fields to get his horses, spied the runaways, and entered into a lusty pursuit. Love and a good start proved more than a match for him, however, and he was compelled to give up the chase. The runaways succeeded in putting their heads into the matrimonial noose without encountering any further difficulties. The date of their marriage was August 3, 1784.

A ROUGH HONEYMOON.

This unpleasant ride formed a large portion of the young couple's wedding journey, and the opening of their married career was hardly more auspicious. Mr. Plumer selected a tract of land of 320 acres, located on the right bank of Puckety-creek, near Fort Crawford, Westmoreland county, and erected thereon a cabin with clapboard roof and door, and with an earthen floor. For a bed, he staked a log on the floor some distance from the wall and parallel to it, and filled the space between with straw. The couple had one sheet and one quilt. In this primitive style they began housekeeping. Both worked hard. Mr. Plumer cleared land and proceeded to cultivate it as fast as possible. Game, consisting of deers, turkeys, bears, etc., was plenty, and they had all the meat they wanted. They were often in danger for their lives from Indian incursions, and on more than one occasion neighbors living two, three and four miles distant were murdered by the savages. The occupant of the farm lying next to Mr. Plumer's was his brother-in-law, Robert Hays, who had married Nancy Plumer about the same time her brother made his runaway match with Miss Lowry.

By dint of hard work, Mr. Plumer cleared, fenced, and placed in cultivation about 30 acres of land, and Mr. Hays a little less. But the pettifogging lawyer was already abroad in the land, and the brothers-in-law were to experience how sharper than a serpent's tooth an individual of this species could be. While they were away from home engaged in military service against the Indians, a certain lawyer of Pittsburgh swooped down upon their farms with some surveyors, measured off the finest portion of the land, including the improve ments, and patented it before the rightful occupants knew what was being done. In this manner they lost the best of their possessions. It was about this time that Mr. Plumer first met his father-in-law, Colonel Lowry. That gentleman had formed a very unfavorable opinion of him, owing to the representations of Mr. Hay, and was so agreeably disappointed with his appearance and conduct

that he promised to visit him. He did so, and the sight of three sturdy, wide-awake little Plumers, who had arrived in his daughter's home, so melted his heart that he told Mr. Plumer to choose one of three farms near the mouth of Big Sewickley creek, in Westmoreland county, and he would buy it for him. Mr. Plumer accordingly made a selection, and the Colonel fulfilled his part of the bargain. Among Mr. Plumer's neighbors on Puckety creek were Robert Hays (who went to Butler county and settled after losing his land as before narrated), Samuel S. Killen, James Gray and Alexander Logan, the founder of Logan's Ferry on the Allegheny river. About 1791 Mr. Plumer erected a cabin at the mouth of the Sewickley, and moved into it.

Mr. Lowry visited his son-in-law about two years after the latter was settled in his new quarters, and was so much pleased with the signs of industry and thrift everywhere visible that he presented him with £800 with which to erect a grist and sawmill. Next year Lowry paid another visit, and again was delighted when he saw that Mr. Plumer had already erected and started the sawmill, and was pretty far advanced with his preparations to put up the grist-mill. This time he left him £300. When the mills were completed they were kept quite constantly employed in doing work for the people in the neighborhood. Two or three years later, Mr. Plumer was attacked with bilious fever, and became so ill that his life was despaired of. Gradually, however, he recovered. During his sickness a freshet swept his mill dam away, and feeling in his weak state somewhat discouraged, he sold the mills and about one hundred and twenty-two acres of land to Major Michael and Adam Frichman.

IN THE LEGISLATURE.

In 1805 he built a still and distilled whisky until 1823. From 1808 till 1813 he operated a store, which was for some time located at Robbstown, now West Newton. While his store was there he rode thither from his farm every morning, both in summer and winter, and returned home at night. He was elected to represent Westmoreland county in the legislature in 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815 and 1817. June 24, 1818, his wife died from an abscess in the stomach.

In 1820 he was a presidential elector, and gave his ballot for James Monroe for President. He was elected to congress on the Democratic ticket the same year, and was re-elected in 1822 and 1824. November 4, 1821, he married his second wife, Martha Dean.

Mr. Plumer's election to congress in 1824 was a triumph over the "machine," which had already been set up in Westmoreland county. The Democratic convention assembled in Greensburg in August, the majority of the delegates having been instructed for Mr. Plumer. John H. Wise, the editor of the Democratic paper in Greensburg, was anxious to obtain the nomination for his own brother Frederick, and with the aid of a few "practical" politicians, succeeded in pulling the wires so successfully that Frederick Wise became the nominee by a majority of one vote. A portion of the delegates withdrew, claiming that, as the will of the people had been set aside, the nomination of Wise was fraudulent. They therefore issued a call for another county meeting to nominate a candidate for congress, which was answered by the assemblage of large numbers of people at the appointed place and time. The president of the meeting, after having summed up the popular opinion of the action of the preceding convention by calling it "devilish," opened the meeting for business. Some of the manipulators of the first convention attempted to speak, but were told to keep quiet. The advice was not heeded, and they were projected through the door with great dispatch. Mr. Plumer was then nominated by acclamation. The Federalists placed no candidate in the field, and Mr. Plumer was elected by a larger majority than he had received at either time before.

Mr. Plumer was urged to become a candidate for congress in 1832, but declined, and resided quietly thereafter on his farm until his death, which happened June 8, 1843. He was much lamented. For a great number of years he was the ruling elder in the Presbyterian church. His memory is perpetuated in Pittsburgh by a street located on the ground where he was born, which is called by his name, and is now

thickly lined with manufactories and other buildings.

Among Mr. Plumer's neighbors at Big Sewickley creek were Isaac Robb, the founder of West Newton; John Simerall, who started the first ferry over the Youghat West Newton, and Gasper Markle, a farmer and miller, and father of General Joseph Markle. Mr. Plumer was the father of 11 children, five of whom were sons and six daughters. His son William lived at West Newton, where he died September 22, 1882, in the 83d year of his age. He was the author of the family history from which most of this article has been taken. The descendants of George Plumer are numerous and widely scattered, but quite a number live about West Newton, and others in Pittsburgh and vicinity.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch*.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

In part one, volume one of 'Smith's History of Wisconsin,' p. 227, the author, in speaking of the treaty of St. Louis between General William H. Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory and of the District of Louisiana, and the Sac and Fox Indians, November 3, 1804, says:

"The boundaries of the land ceded by this treaty are thus described: Beginning at a point on the Missouri river opposite the mouth of the Gasconade river; thence in a direct course so as to strike the River Jefferson at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jefferson to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin river, and up the same to a point which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of the said river; thence by a direct line to a point where the Fox river, a branch of the Illinois, leaves the small lake called Sakaegan; thence down the Fox river to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi."

Where is Lake Sakaegan?

L.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

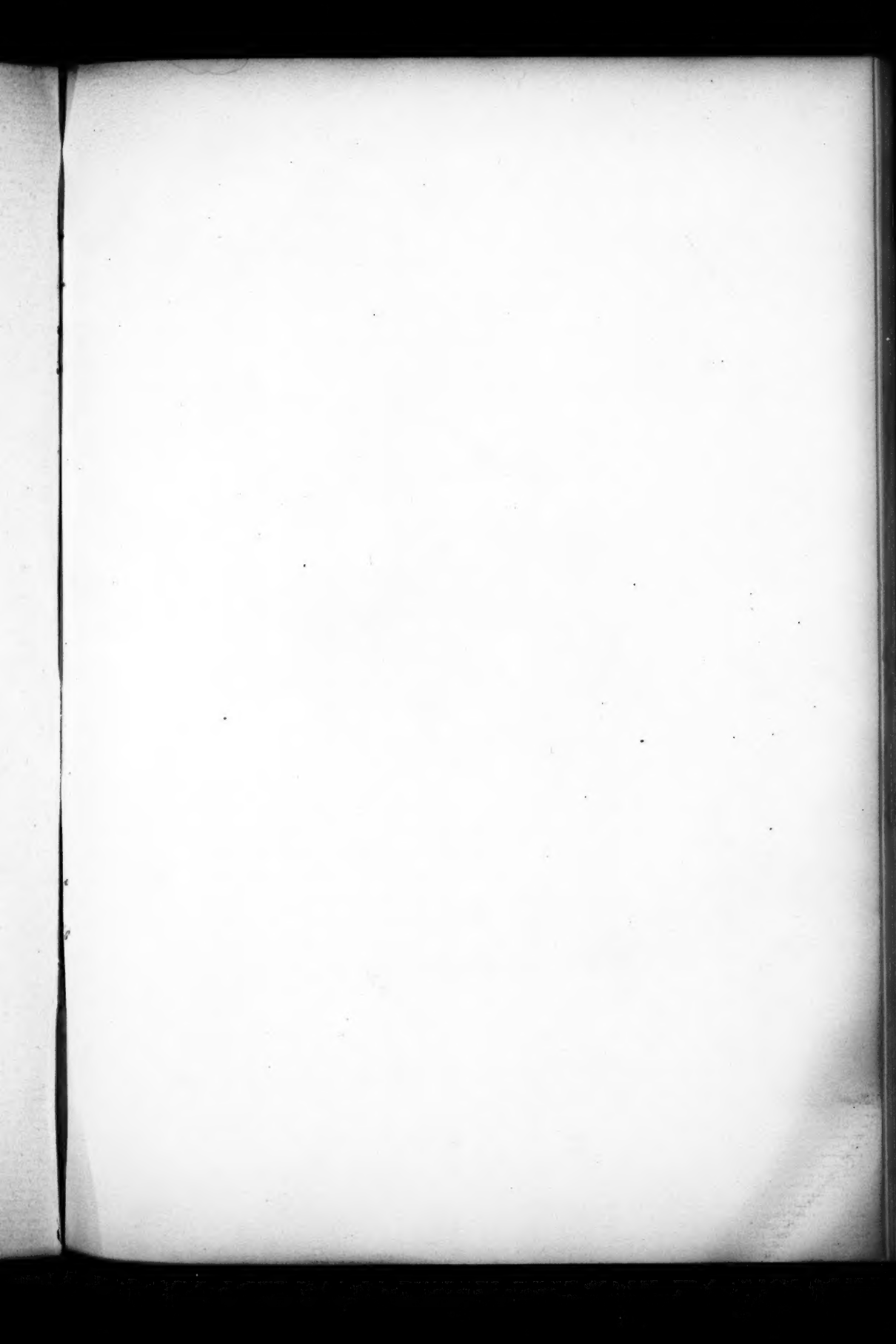
The following is the inviting table of contents of the September North American Review: I. "Our National Banking System." By F. J. Scott, George S. Boutwell, Edward H. G. Clark, S. Dana Horton. II. "The Tendencies of English Fiction." By Ouida. III. "Reminiscences of Famous Americans." By John R. French. IV. "The Decay of Ecclesiasticism." By R. Heber Newton. V. "The Great Psychical Opportunity." By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. VI. "The Naval Tactics of the Future." (Illustrated.) By Woods Pasha. VII. "Grant's Memorial: What shall it be?" By Launt Thompson, Calvert Vaux, W. H. Beard, Karl Gerhardt, Henry Van Brunt, Olin L. Warner, Wilson McDonald, Clarence Cook. VIII. "Comments." By Geo. W. Julian, John C. Peters, C. O'C. Hennessy, Charles K. Whipple, M. J. Savage, Alice H. Witherbee, Philemon Bliss, C. T. Jamieson.

THE CENTURY.

In the Century for December, 1884, was printed a facsimile of a copy of the famous "Unconditional Surrender" dispatch. That copy was written by General Grant for reproduction in the magazine, and bore the additional words, "copied by me October 29, 1884.—U. S. G.," so that it might not be mistaken for the original, which was supposed to be lost. But the publication of the copy called out information of the original, which was owned by Dr. James K. Wallace of Litchfield, Conn. He received it November 28, 1868, from his relative by marriage, General John A. Rawlins, who, as chief of staff to General Grant, had the custody, after the capture, of General Buckner's papers. General Rawlins told Dr. Wallace that he was receiving the original dispatch, and advised him to take good care of it, as it might become valuable. In the September Century, accompanying General Grant's paper on "The Siege of Vicksburgh," is an exact reproduction of the original dispatch in every particular, except that, in order to adapt it to the width of the page, the word "Sir" has been lowered to the line beneath, and the words, "I am, sir, very respectfully," have been raised to the line above. The original reads: "No terms except an unconditional surrender," the "an" having evidently been inserted as an after-thought.

THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY.

Dr. W. T. Barnard has the lead in the September Popular Science Monthly, and opens an able and elaborate discussion on "The Relation of Railway Managers and Employés." This is an interesting branch of the great labor question, and presents many of its problems in a light especially favorable for critical study. The paper is very important. Dr. W. G. Thompson considers "The Present Aspect of Medical Education," and gives much information and many valuable suggestions upon the subject. The "Insect Fertilization of Flowers," by the German botanist Behrens, is full of nice points on this curious topic. No man in this country—perhaps no man of this age—is better qualified than Professor E. D. Cope to treat of the "Origin of Man and the Other Vertebrates." As a statement of just how that subject stands to-day, his illustrated paper is invaluable. Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi concludes her essay, "An Experiment in Primary Education," in the present number. It is a practice with her own child, and is full of originality. "The Fauna of the Sea-shore," by Moseley; Dr. Brehm's "Siberia and the Exiles"; "How Spelling Damages the Mind," by F. A. Fernald, are readable articles; while that by Professor Langley, on "Sunlight and the Earth's Atmosphere," is brilliant and striking. Dr. Ray Lankester makes report on "The Recent Progress in Biology"; J. G. Frazer expounds "The Primitive Ghost and his Relations," and Mascart contributes a most interesting article on the "Physiology of Colors." A sketch and portrait are given of the celebrated African explorer, Dr. Gustav Nachtigal.





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